AN HISTORICALL VINDICATION OF THE Government of the Church of *Scotland*,

From the manifold baſe calumnies which the moſt Malignant of the Prelats did invent of old, and now lately have been publiſhed with great induſtry in two Pamphlets at LONDON.

The one intituled *Iſſachars burden, &c.* written and publiſhed at *Oxford* by *John Maxwell*, a *Scottiſh* Prelate, Excommunicate by the Church of *Scotland*, and declared an unpardonable Incendiary by the Parliaments of both KINGDOMS.

The other falſly intituled A Declaration made by King *James* in *Scotland*, concerning Church-government and Presbyteries; but indeed written by *Patrick Adamſon*, pretended Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, contrary to his own conſcience, as himſelfe on his Death-bed did confeſſe and ſubſcribe before many Witneſſes in a Write hereunto annexed.

By ROBERT BAYLIE Miniſter at *Glaſgow*.

Publiſhed according to Order.

London, Printed for *Samuel Gellibrand* at the Braſen-Serpent in *Pauls*-Churchyard, 1646.

Edinr 1738 Ata

Patior vel Potiar

For his Reverend and wel beloved Brother Maſter ROBERT BLAIRE, Miniſter of St. *Andrewes.*

THat I give to you an account of this my preſent taske, it is no more then what often I have done in my other ſtudies with your good acceptance and my great profit. when I look back (as frequently I doe with a delightfull remembrance) towards thoſe yeers of my childhood and youth, wherein I did ſit under your Diſcipline, my heart bleſſes the goodneſſe of God, who in a very rich mercy to me, did put almoſt the white and razed table of my ſpirit under your hand, after my domeſtick inſtructions which were from mine infancy, to be engraven by your labours and example with my firſt moſt ſenſible and remaining impreſſions, whether of piety or of good letters, or of morall vertue: what little portion in any of theſe, it hath pleaſed the Lord of his high and undeſerved favour to beſtow upon me; I were ungratefull if I ſhould not acknowledge you after my Parents, the firſt and principall inſtrument thereof. I cannot deny, that ſince the eleventh yeer of mine age to this day, in my inmoſt ſenſe, I have alwayes found my ſelfe more in your debt, then in any other mans upon earth.

Among the many blessings wherein God hath made you instrumentall towards me, this was one not the least, that by your gracious and most loving discourses, you so seasoned my childish heart with an early love towards the ancient oppressed Discipline of our Church and the Patrons thereof, that no after tentations were ever able totally to extinguish it: You did so repleniſh me with narrations of the more then ordinary graces of many both in Scotland *and* England, *who had lived and dyed in opposition to Episcopall usurpations, that my spirit was ever thereafter kept in a reluctancy and a kind of averseness from the Prelaticall wayes.*

I confesse, after you, to my exceeding great griefe and losse, were taken away from my head, and I came to be set at the feet of other Masters, especally Mr. Cameron *and Mr.* Struthers, *my very singular friends and excellent Divines as our Nation has bred, I was gained by them to some parts of conformity, which if the Lords mercy had not prevented, might have led me, as many my betters, to have run on in all the errours and defections of these bad times: but thanks to his glorious name, who held me by the hand, and stopped me at the beginning and first entry of that unlucky course; who before I had put my hand to any subscription, or was engaged in any promise, or had practised any the least Ceremony in my Flock, did call me to a retreat.*

The remainder of your ancient instructions, and the sight of your sufferings: the happy fellowship and sweet society of that most precious man Master Dickson, *of old yours, and now my most gracious Colleague, were to me strong retractives and wholesome antidotes against all the infections of the ayre, wherein I did live; till the Lord sent to me and many others, that soveraigne remedy of all the Episcopal Gangreen, the gracious ungracious Service-book: So soon as that came into my hands, together with some late writs of the Canterburian and Court Divines, which I did carefully look into as the true and*

just

just Commentaries both of that Book, and all the rest of the proceedings of that party, which then did manage the publick Counsels both Ecclesiastick and Civill of Britaine: I did conclude, that their Designe was wicked, that their intentions were cleer to corrupt the Church, and to enslave the State, that all their former innovations were but introductory meanes and adminicles for these ends: whereupon I resolved by the grace of God upon all hazards, to contradict and oppose (so far as it was lawfull for me to move in my sphеare) all not onely their late grosser, but also their former more subtill and plausible corruptions. This ever since has been the greatest part of my labour, and thanks to God, not without some fruit, especially to such who had stumbled more or lesse upon the block of conconformity, which was the condition, as you know of the farre most part in the whole Isle.

At this time I did not think of any farther contest with that party; the hand of God by the Counsels and Forces of the Parliaments, and by the labours of many gracious Divines of both Kingdomes, having so broken and defeated that enemy, that there was no more feare, and scarce any thought of him among us, yet behold an unexpected necessity of one bout more with him.

The wofull Anarchy wherein the perversnesse of some few men, by the permission and heavy plague of God, has for too many yeers kept the Church of England, has produced such a multitude of heresies and schismes, as no heart in the which is the least sparkle of love to God, or of zeale to his truth, can behold without a great deale of griefe and compassion, and now also with some piece of indignation. For to many of those seduced soules, upon their feare and presage of some controlement and restraint of their liberty to beleeve what they list, and preach what they beleeve, if once any government were set up in the Church; they become angry with all whose conscience pousses them after so long patience, to presse for some setling of our so

great and unheard of confusions: And because in this desire the Scots are with the first, according to their interest which they have bought at a very deare rate, there ore upon them with the first, the passions of those misled people does oftentimes break out.

It were long to tell you of the manifold, not onely unexpected unkindnesses, but very injurious contumelies which from this fountaine have flowed out upon our whole Nation; all which we have entertained with so great wisdome and meekenesse, as the Lord did furnish; so much the rather that we did find this folly and injustice as much resented by the wiser of their own Country-men as we could have wished: Beside, that this generation of men have served the Assembly of Divines at Westminster the Common-Counsell of London, the Houses of Parliament, the Kings Majesty himselfe, and whosoever else lyes crosse in their way, large as uncivilly as they have done us; the companions we have in our sufferings, make our other wayes insupportable injuries the more tolerable.

But of all the kinds of injustice whereby they have been pleased to deal against us, this now in hand seems to be most strange: they rest not satisfied with all they are alle of themselves to speak, write or print for the disgrace of our Church, unlesse they scrape together, and with their owne hands cast upon our face the falsest of the most wicked calumnies which our common enemies the Prelats, either of old or of late have invented against us. We esteemed our selves secure of this kind of dealing from those whom we knew to have solemnly sworne the defence of our Church-Government against the common enemy: I professe I cannot deny my amazement to see men who pretend to more then ordinary piety, fall upon their wel-deserving Brethren so openly before the Sun in contempt of God and his solemn Oath, to enforce upon them old rotten calumnies, which cannot but fall back upon the head, not onely of the first Authors, but also with en-

encreaſe of ſhame upon the face of the malicious repeaters ſo much againſt all piety, charity and wiſdome.

You know that one of the moſt falſe and wicked pieces that of old was written againſt the Church of Scotland, was Adamſons Declaration in the yeer 1584. it was ſo vile, that the Author was brought to an ingenuous confeſſion of the ſhamefull and wicked lyes, whereof it was full; King James at that very time did diſclaime it under his hand, divers of our Parliaments did condemne the matter of it as erroneous and wrong: That peſtiferous carcaſſe which with all poſſible infamy was buried ſo ſoon as borne, and did lye quiet in its grave of ſhame till a full Climaterick of three ſcore and three yeers; our good friends have been ſo wiſe for themſelves, and kind to us, as to dig up its ſtinking bones, and to carry it from houſe to houſe, from ſhire to ſhire over all England, and where ever elſe a printed pamphlet can goe, ſerving their Brethren of Scotland with this curteſie according to their Covenant.

And leaſt the antick face of ſo long buried a body, ſhould not have been looked upon by the multitude with any contentment, they did choice to be at the coſt of putting it in a fine new Engliſh dreſſe, and ſetting upon its head the Cape of a royall title: All to draw the eyes of the vulgar upon it, who otherwiſe might have paſſed by it with neglect and diſdaine. In this they have put themſelves to a peece of pains which I never knew or heard uſed with any other book: they do print it firſt in Maſter Adamſons owne old Scottiſh language, and thereafter tranſlated it in good moderne Engliſh, ſetting before both the Title of A Declaration made by King James in Scotland concerning Church-government and Presbyters. When all this was told us, we made our addreſſe to the worſhipfull Lycenſer, intreating that a Pamphlet ſo extreamly injurious to our whol Church and Nation, might be ſmothered upon the Preſſe, and returned to its pit where ſo long it had lyen in infamy;

we

we were told by him that divers perſons of eminency, at leaſt for their place and preſent Station had ſtrongly moved him with great importunity *to give his Licenſe for its reprinting: Yet that upon our ſo juſt and reaſonable deſires he would doe his beſt to ſtop it: hereupon we reſted ſatisfied, being aſſured of its ſuppreſſion; notwithſtanding, within two dayes after this promiſe it came abroad, the importunity and eminency of the perſons who had drawne from the Licenſer his* Imprimatur, *with greater eaſe did draw from the Preſſe ſome thouſands of the printed Copies, and made them to be ſold publikely, to our ſmall contentment.*

While this not very pleaſant morſell is lying in our ſtomack ſcarce halfe digeſted, behold a ſecond diſh is preſented to us for to helpe our concoction of the firſt; Maſter Jo. Maxwell, *late Biſhop of* Roſſe, *Excommunicate by our generall Aſſembly, declared Incendiary by our Parliament, and made unpardonable in the Propoſitions of Peace; did write in the gall of his bitterneſſe a wicked Satyre againſt all the parts of the Government of our Church. This ſome three yeeres agoe the Author did print at* Oxford, *under the Title of an Anſwer by Letter, ſhewing how inconſiſtent Presbyteriall government is with Monarchy. The Cavaliers there received it with great joy, being extreamly ſatisfactory to their ſpight and revengefull humour againſt* Scotland, *which they did ordinarily damne and curſe, as the firſt and greateſt Fountaine of all their woes. In this the Lord gave teſtimony for us againſt them; for by a ſudden and unexpected fire almoſt all the Copies of that wicked Booke were deſtroyed before they were brought from the Printers Shoppe, by the ſtrange and remarkable accident, the mouth of the Author, and of his malignant friends at* Oxford *were ſo ſtopped, that we heard very little more of that Booke from them. But behold our Covenanting Brethren at* London, *I meane ſome of our Antipresbyterian*

friends

friends, tooke the courage and charity to plucke out of the fire the remainder of the Prelats labours, and miſregarding not onely the ſentence of men, the Acts of the generall Aſſembly of Scotland, *and of the Parliaments of both Kingdomes, making the man an excommunicate and unpardonable Incendiary; but alſo the judgement of God from Heaven, who to their knowledge, had burnt the moſt of that Impreſſion to aſhes, notwithſtanding they will gather what was left out of the fire as a holy relict, and hug it in their boſome, till by a new Impreſſion at* London *of ſome thouſand copies, they be enabled to make it run over all the Kingdome, and ſo much farther as a Pamphlet hugely cryed up by their voices could flee. Our diligence to ſearch and find out the Preſſe, the Licenſer, and if we had pleaſed, the Solicitors of their former Writ, made them a little more cautious in the reprinting and publiſhing of this; but for all their warineſſe it was viſible enough, by whoſe induſtry the Books were diſperſed to the Members of Parliament, and over all the City; it was knowne, by whoſe ſerious recommendations, wings were ſet to the ſides of that Fowle, that it might flee with all diligence, much farther and more quickly then the art and malice of the Malignants at* Oxford *were able to have carried it.*

For my part, all the revenge I wiſh of ſo grievous a wrong, all the penance I would put upon the Authors and Actors therein, beſide the weight of that ſin and ſhame which they have drawne upon themſelves by ſpreading ſo falſe and ſo wicked lyes of them who by ſolemne oath they were obliged to have defended againſt ſuch injuries, ſhall be onely to collation at their conveniency, my ſubſequent Anſwer with their owne beloved writs; when they have compared page with page, if they find not a ſatisfactory reply to every materiall paſſage, then with my good leave let them rejoyce in their work, and goe on to recommend to more hands the ſerious peruſall of theſe two notable peices; but if ſo

it fall out that they find it demonſtrate to their owne hearts ſatisfaction, that theſe imputations whereby they eſteemed the honour of the Scottiſh Preſbytery to be moſt grievouſly and irrecoverably wounded, to be nothing but moſt impudent calumnies, then I truſt they will be entreated to repent of their raſhneſſe, and hereafter to be more ſlow in publiſhing or recommending infamous Libels againſt Nations and Churches (to whom juſtice, though piety and charity had both been loſt, did oblige them to be friendly) before they have tryed from ſome who can informe what truth may be in theſe things, which onely enemies in the heat of their rage and revenge of ſuppoſed and miſ-apprehended wrongs, have invented and ſpread.

It had indeed been convenient that this Anſwer had come ſooner abroad, and followed the lyars cloſer at the heels, but the delay was none of my fault: The Work for ſome time was in another far fitter hand, when neceſſary diverſions had hindred it there to be ſo much as begun, and I was called unto it before I could purchaſe and caſt over a good many Writs whereupon my diſcourſe was neceſſarily to be grounded, time did ſlide over: & when I came to be ready, I found the Preſſe ſo much in work, or the work-men in idleneſſe, that I was much diſ-appointed of my hopes of ſo quick a diſpatch as ſometimes I have found; but if what I have done be well, it will not I hope come ſo late as to be quite out of ſeaſon.

I may confeſſe to you, to whom I was wont to communicate the greateſt of my ſecrets, that although at the beginning I was much averſe from medling at all with this taske, yet when once I entred upon it, it became to me a very pleaſant labour not onely in regard of the pregnant occaſion it put in my hand to make the lyes and malice of the malignants, the impudence and raſhneſſe of the Sectaries againſt us cleere as the noon day, but ſpecially for the opportunity which divine providence did offer ſo faire as I could have wiſhed, of bringing to light before

the

the whole Isle the oppressed innocency of many most precious Divines, who had been halfe martyred in Scotland and lay still buried too much in oblivion under their sufferings: also of rectifying the mis-apprehensions which the Prelaticall party had bred in many well meaning minds both in this Isle and over Sea by their grosse mis-representations of all the opposition which in the Church of Scotland had been made to their tyrannous oppressions. I was glad to be drawn by unadvisednesse of adversaries, to let the world know the plaine truth of that 17. day of December, of the Assembly at Aberdeen 1505. of the tumult at Edinborough 1637. and of many more remarkable passages of our Ecclesiastick History, which the Prelats during their Reigne, and lately also in their rage for their ruine, were wont to set out in no other habit then of monstrous tragedies.

I was also glad of this nick of time when the Presbyteriall Government was comming to be set up over all England, and when a little stumbling-block was apt to make many fall, to be put to the cleering of a number of practicall passages in all the parts of that government, wherein the experience of Scotland cannot but give light to all who will follow, not them so much as the word of God, and sound reason which first led them into their way of Presbytery, and still has kept them therein notwithstanding of all the fraud, of all the force which the Court and clergy has imployed sometime to cheat, sometime to beat them out of that path.

It was to me a pleasant service, and abundantly recompensive of it selfe to open the prisons wherein the unjustice of Prelats had too too long inclosed the names and reputations of the most gracious instruments in our Church, condemning them so far as was in their power to lye in darknesse and stink unto the worlds end. I was not a little glad to be imployed in bringing forth and ushering up to the stage of this vast theater where-

upon now we stand, those great and noble names of John Knox, John Willock, Andrew and James Melvils, Robert Bruce John Welsh, Thomas Smeiton, Iames Lauson, David Black, and divers others, from whose faces a great light does shine, and from their fame a most fragrant odour for the refreshing of all that comes neer them, whose senses are not either very dull, or much corrupted. I was also content with another part of my taske, to throw downe to the dust of just contempt and wel-deserved disgrace, the unhappy and infamous wretches Adamson, Spotswood, Maxwell, Balcanquell and others, who ly the steps of very evill actions and great disservices to their mother Church and Country, had all of them at least in hope, perked themselves up upon the pinacles of the highest honours both of our Church and State, that in the indignation of God, whom they had greatly provoked, they might be tumbled downe into the more fearfull and exemplary pits of ruine.

Many of these stories I learned from your loving and kind discourse in my very childhood; of late I have endeavored to my power to encrease and make certaine that part of my knowledge by searching the chiefe Fountaines thereof as I had opportunity; for all that I say in my answer, I beleeve if I be put to it, I can give good enough authorities, and if any more be needfull to be said, if I were beside you, and that living magazine of our whole Ecclesiastick History, most Reverend Master Catherwood, I know whence I should be abundantly furnished; however, what here I subjoine out of the little store I had at hand, I submit it to your judgement, and rest

Worster-House
July 29. 1646.

Your most deservedly loving
Brother and Scholler,

R. Baily.

The Contents of the first *Treatise*.

Issachars Burden *will stumble no solid and advised mind*, p. 1.
The Author of it is an excommunicate Prelat and Incendiary, obstinate in wickednesse, p. 2. *The most malicious enemy to the Parliament of* England *that ever yet has written*, p. 3.
A favourer of grosse Popery and Arminianisme, p. 4,5,6.
Scotlands *old Obligations to* England, p. 7. Englands *late Obligations to* Scotland, p. 8, 9. *The Independents and Erastians in publishing this Book are many wayes faulty*, p. 10.
The Title Issachars Burden, *is a doltish reproach of this present Parliament*, p. 11. *the groundlesse calumnies of the title Page*, p. 12. *the discordall concord of Prelats, Erastians and Independents in the point of Supremacy*, ibid. *the publishing of this Book is a grievous injury to the Parliament*, p. 13. *a false and mad propheſie*, p. 14. *the whole Treatise is but an extract of the most false and venomous parts of* Spotswoods *Story*, Ibid.
The Church of Scotland, *gives no more power to Congregationall Elderships then the Independents and Erastians doe allow*, p. 15. *the Prelats give much more ecclesiasticall power to Lay-men then we to ruling Elders*, p. 16
We give to Deacons no power of jurisdiction, we wish there were Doctors in all populous Congregations, Elders in some few Congregations for a time have a Dispensation, p. 17.
No Eldership inflicts any civill punishment, Ibid. *the Prelats confound miserably the spirituall and civill Offices*, p. 18.
Princes plead not for exemption from Ecclesiastick jurisdiction, p. 19. *No Presbytery did ever enter in any processe with the supreame Magistrate*, p. 20. *the Moderators of our Assembly are Preachers*, p. 21.
Our expectants are not Lay-Preachers, p. 22. *the Presbytery of* Edinborough *usurps no power over any other*, Ibid. *King* James *aversion from Presbytery, and affection to Episcopacy, makes not this the better, nor that the worse*, Ibid. *No Presbytery did ever keep any State with the King*, p. 23
The Presbytery doth not enquire in secret faults, but knowne crimes it does not passe by, p. 24.
The Presbytery meddles not with matter of trade or debt, or any thing civill, p. 25. *they never did dilapidat any Benefice*, p. 26. *nor favour Gentlemen in their wickednesse, they never did countenance any feud, all these were the Prelats crimes*, p. 26, 27.
Ministers generally were ever and still are, honoured more in Scotland *then anywhere else*, p. 29.
Master Robert Bruce *vindicated*, p. 30, 31.

The reason of the Authors malice against the generall Assembly, p. 32. *His false and railing slanders against it*, p. 33.
The generall Assembly exercises no power, but what the King and the Lawes have authorized, Ibid. *the Commissioners of Burroughs and Universities are Elders*, Ibid. *we ascribe to the King so much power in the Assembly as the Laws allow*, p. 34. *the Assembly alters no Law, onely it supplicates the King and Parliament to alter such Lawes as confirme evident errors*, p. 35. *the Prelats quarrelling against ruling Elders is absurd*, Ibid.
The Assembly and Parliament in Scotland *use not to differ*, p. 36.
The vindication of J. Knox *& the first reformers from base calumnies*, p. 37
The suspention of the Queen Regents authority was an Act meerly of the State which did nothing prejudge the Soveraignty, p. 38.
The Presbyterians have often supported, but never hurt royalty, p. 39.
John Knox *did never preach for the pulling downe of any Church*, p. 40.
The armes of Scotland *against the tyranny of the French were necessary and just*, p. 41. *the Author very wicked and popish*, Ibid.
Cardinall Beton *by all Law and reason deserved death*, p. 42.
An account of the tumult at Edinborough *for the Service-book*, p. 43, 44.
Our Assemblies did ever defer all loyall subjection to the King, p. 45.
Master Henderson *was ever free from all disloyall and Papall humours*, Ibid.
Our first reformation was authorized by Parliament, p. 46.
Episcopacy was never approved by any lawfull Assembly in Scotland, p. 47.
the short confession of faith was subscribed by King James *in the yeer* 1580
the Presbyterial Government was fully agreed unto before that time, ibid.
the King and his Counsell did set up the Presbyteries over all the Land at the same time, p. 48.
The generall Assembly did never approve of Abbots and Pryors, ibid.
The Ministers of Scotland *were wont to preach to the King and State free and seasonable Doctrine, but in all wisdome and humility*, p. 49.
Preachers of treason are censurable both by the Church and State, p. 50.
The Erastian and Prelaticall principles brought great trouble on the Ministers of Scotland, p. 51.
The case of James Gibson, p. 52. *Mr.* David Black *his case*, ibid.
A cleer vindication of the Assembly at Aberdeen *in the yeer* 1605. p. 53, 54, 55.
Mr. Welsh *and Mr.* Forbes *pittifully oppressed*, p. 56.
Bancroft *a persecutor of the Scottish Presbyterians*, ibid.
Mr. Andrew *and Mr.* James Melvils *oppressed*, p. 57.
The Scottish Discipline is far from all rigour and tyranny. p. 58.
A Narration of the Roads of Ruthen *and* Stirling, p. 60.

The

The Assembly meddles not with Lawes, nor with any civill Courts, p. 61. *Mr.* John Graham *his case*, p. 62, 63.
The great controversie betwixt the Church and the King was the infinite extent of the Prerogative, p. 64. *the Presbytery is a great bar to keep out* Democracy *and tyranny both from Church and State; it is a singular help both to Kings and Parliaments*, p. 65. *Mr.* Catherwoods *vindication*, p. 66.
The Commissioners of the generall assembly unjustly slandered, p. 67. *A full account of the* 17. *day of December*, p. 68, 69, 70, 71. *Mr.* James Melvile *vindicated from assisting of* Bothwell *against the King*, p. 72.
A Declaration upon all the twelve Articles imputed to us, p. 73, 74, 75, 76.
No shadow of Episcopacy remaines in any well reformed Church, p. 77, 78.
The Dutch Superintendents are very far from the Englisb Bishops, p. 79.

The Contents of the second *Treatise*.

THe Opposites of Presbytery blinded with malice, have hurt themselves and no other by the reprinting of this false Declaration, p. 1.
Adamson *confesseth himself to be the Author thereof, but King* James *did disclaime it*, p. 2. *whatever in it is contrary to Presbytery, is condemned by the Parliament of* Scotland, p. 3.
It is hazardous for a Prince to take upon himselfe the faults of his Officers, p. 4. *the indignation of the people in* Scotland *was never against King* James, *but oft against his Court, and that upon just grounds*, p. 5.
King James *was far from Erastianisme*, p. 7.
Cleer grounds for Mr. Melvils *justification*, p. 9. *his flight no argument of guiltinesse*, p. 11. *A great cause of the rooting out of Episcopacy*, ibid. *Mr.* Melvils *Declinator and Protestation cleered*, p. 12.
What supremacy is lawfull, p. 13. *the Erastian supremacy is more then a Turkish tyranny*, p. 14. *if either King or Parliament admit of it, it will overthrow both, and the whole Nation with them*, p. 15.
King James *revoked what here is published, and King* Charles *also*, p. 17.
The Presbyteriall Government was established in Scotland *on a divine right, with the allowance of K.* James *and K.* Charles *in divers Parliaments*, p. 18
The reprinters of this Declaration seem to be contemners of Oaths, Lawes and all rights divine and humane, p. 20.
A full account of the French Banquet, p. 21.
The Prelats and Erastians extreamly unjust against the Presbytery, p. 24.
The general Assemblies approbation of the Road of Ruthven *very innocent*, p. 25
The Road of Stirling *cleered*, p. 27.
Episcopacy was not established at the Conference of Leeth, 1572. p. 16.
It was lawfull for the Assemblies to call to fasting, p. 28.
The reprinters of this Declaration make no conscience of their Covenant; p. 29.

King

King James *his full and honeſt Declaration againſt Eraſtianiſme*, p. 312
The pretended intentions were not the Kings but the Prelats, p. 320
The reprinters of this Writ are either hypocrits or Apoſtates, ibid.
Cæſaro *papiſme is an Antichriſtianiſme, worſe then that of the Pope*, p. 330
Prelats and Eraſtians their Sympathy and Antipathy, p. 340
King James *againſt all toleration of hereſies or ſchiſmes*, p. 350. *Alſo much contrary to our preſent Anarchy*, p. 360.
The retarders of government are enemies to themſelves and to the welfare of England p. 370
The Recantation of Patrick Adamſon *pretended Archbi. of St. Andrews*, p. 370
Mr. Patrick Adamſon's *owne Anſwer and refutation of the Booke falſly called* The Kings Declaration, p. 410
Two pious and propheticall Letters of Mr. Jo. Welſh, *which he wrote out of his priſon after the ſentence of death was pronounced againſt him and other gracious Miniſters for their teſtimony againſt Eraſtianiſme & Prelacy*, p. 450

The Authors out of which the chiefe teſtimonies of the ſubſequent Vindication are taken.

The Acts of Parliament printed at Edinborough *by* Robert Walgrave *in the yeer* 1597.

The Acts of the ſecond Parliament of King Charles *printed at* Edinborough *by* Robert Young, 1641.

The Acts of the generall Aſſembly at Edinborough 1632. *printed at* Edinborough *by* Evan Tyler 1642.

One of the Regiſters of the Church of Scotland, *Manuſcript.*

A collection out of the Regiſters of the Church of Scotland *by Mr.* David Catherwood, *wherein, beſide other things, are Mr.* Andrew Melvils *proceſſe, the Animadverſions of the Commiſſioners of the generall Aſſembly upon* Adamſons *Declaration delivered to the King; Alſo a Reverend Divines cenſure at that time upon the ſame Declaration; Alſo King* James *his true* Declaration.

Knox *Hiſtory.*

Altare Damaſcenum.

Adamſons *Recantation.*

Mr. Welſh *his Letters.*

The Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory of Scotland *written by* John Spotſwood, *pretended Archbiſhop of St.* Andrewes, *licenſed for the Preſſe under the hands of Secretary* Stirling and Windebank.

Iſſachars Burden, *under the name of an Anſwer to a Letter, &c. Alſo* Sacra Sancta Regum Majeſtas, *both printed at* Oxford 1644. *by Mr.* John Maxwell *pretended Biſhop of* Roſſe.

THE UNLOADING OF *ISSACHARS* BURTHEN.

WHen from divers good hands it was brought to me, that *Presbyteriall* Government began to be evil spoken of by many, & to be suspected by some who hitherto had *not been unfriends* to it, through the occasion of a late Pamphlet Intituled *Issachars burthen*; which some Sectaries with all care and diligence doe put in the hands of the prime Members of both Houses of Parliament, and others whom they conceive to have any influence in the affaires either of Church or State, either of City or Countrey: The word of the old Philosopher came in my mind, *a short sighted man, is a quick judge*; who sees few things, does soone and rashly give out his sentence.

Issachars burthen will stumble no solide and advised minde.

That this nameless Pamphlet printed by a Malignant at *Oxford*, and reprinted by the industry of Sectaries at *London*, should be able to open the mouth, or touch the heart of any considerate man with the least suspition against the Government of the Reformed Churches, seemes to me a little strange, and will doe so, as I suppose, to others who shall be pleased to consider with me some circumstances of that writ; first the Author, secondly, those whom he professes to taxe, thirdly, its Publishers, fourthly, the matters contained therein.

The Author, as uncontroverted fame since its first publication at *Oxford* makes manifest, is Mr *John Maxwell* late Bishop of *Rosse*, from whose gracious pen a little after this, did drop another piece of the like benigne quality, *Sacro-Sancta Regum*

The Author of it is a man infamous, an Excommunicate Prelate and incendia-

gum majestas; they must be of a greater then ordinary credulity, who can admit this mans testimony against the Church of *Scotland*; for by the most solemn judicatories of that Land, he is declared infamous: by the generall Assembly for many grievous offences he with some other Prelates were delivered into the hands of Satan, but for more treasonable crimes this man by the Parliament of that Kingdome was declared an *incendiary*: a Censure put upon no other Prelate but him alone.

A man obstinate and obdured in wickednesse.

These no more heavie then just sentences were so farre from bringing him to any shew of repentance, that they filled his heart with bitternesse and rage, to doe, speak, and write what ever malice, hightned to the uttermost, could dictate.

In that most scurrilous and invenomed Satyre *Lysimachus Nicanor*, his pen was thought to be principall; for this he got a warning from heaven so distinct and loud as any uses to be given upon earth, to reclaime him from his former errours: with his eyes did he see the miserable man *Iohn Corbet*, who took upon him the shame of penning that rable of contumelious lies against his Mother Church, hewed in pieces in the very armes of his poore wife; this Prelate himselfe in the meane time was striken down and left with many wounds as dead by the hand of the *Irish*, with whom he had been but too familiar: All this did not humble his stout spirit; so dangerous is it to be put in the hands of the Devill by the servants of God according to their Masters warrant; for no sooner did he recover of his wounds, but he went for *Oxford* of purpose to cast oyl in that flame, in the first kindling whereof he had beene a prime instrument.

A man very corrupt in doctrine.

How little faith ought to be given to this man I might shew by seven years old Stories; its well known that he above all men living did move and encourage *Canterbury* to force upon *Scotland* the Liturgy and Canons; what ever Popery or Tiranny is found in either, he was a prime Author and full consenter thereto: the erroneous Tenents of the *Canterburian* party, especially their grosse Popery in the heads of Transubstantiation, Iustification and Purgatory, were according to his minde, as the supplement of *Ladensium Autocatacrisis* demonstrates: how neare he and his two most intimate friends *Forbes* and *Synserfe* were to the open profession of Popery, does appeare by the

avowed

avowed defection to *Rome* of their chiefe Scholars and most familiar dependents, *Forbes* his Sonne, *Synserfe* his brother, *Menteith* the great *Achates* of all the three Bishops.

But leaving these elder stories, behold what new stuffe he layes out in his two Pamphlets; in matters of State these are his maximes; all resistance to Kings in any imaginable case of the most extreame Tyranny is simply unlawfull, though the Religion, Lawes, Liberties of whole Kingdomes were totally subverted. Let Princes doe what ever mischiefe can come in the heart of the worst men, subjects are to suffer all, and have no right allowed by God to make any opposition farther then by teares and prayers (*a*). That the defensive war of the Parliaments of both Kingdomes is a most reall Rebellion and Treason; that all who have dyed in that quarell are certainly damned; that the Covenant is a damnable Conspiracy; that all Covenanters are Traytors and Rebels both to God and the King; that their Covenant puts them upon the principles of *Ravillack* and *Faux*, to kill Kings and blow up Parliaments (*b*). That the Armes of the *Irish Rebels* were no more unjust, then these of the *British* who opposed them; that the *Irish* Cessation was lawfull and commendable (*c*). That the *Marquesse* of *Ormond* for piety and prudence has not

The most malicious enemy to the Parliament of *England* that ever yet has written.

(a) *Sacro-Sanct.* p. 19. *All opposition by force, resisting of Kings by Armes, whether in a defensive or offensive way, is against God, and unlawfull*, ibid. p. 66. *They commit the higheſt Treasons against God & man, & make poor people die Traytors to both*, ibid. p. 68. *fancying to themselves that they fight the Lords battels for Religion & Liberties, they dream they die Martyrs when they die Traytors to God and his Anoynted*, ibid. p. 132. *They set the simple people upon Rebellion against God and his Anoynted to the destruction of State, soul and body temporally and eternally.* (b) Vide supra. a. *also* ibid. 63. *This Covenant maketh every man to be armed with power, and the way left to himselfe, for ought wee know, it may be* Raviliacks *way or* Guido Faux *his way*, ibid. p. 7. *For as bad as the* Iesuite *is, in my conceiving the* Puritan *is worse.* (c) Ibid. *Preface to* Ormond, *you were assaulted with two of the worst extreames of opinions, enraged both of them with the same degrees of madnesse.*

his match upon earth (*d*). That for military vertue he is equall to *Scipio*, *Hannibal*, and *Cæsar*. (*e*) That the Legislative power is in the King alone: That his Monarchy makes him above all Lawes, and lets him be tyed to none, but gives him power to alter and abolish them at his pleasure (*f*). To diminish any thing of this Prerogative is to destroy Monarchy, to dethrone the King and to take his Crowne from him. (*g*) For Parliaments to meddle with any part of this power is a sacriledge which God will revenge (*h*). When through weakenesse or imprudence, a Prince is cheated or enforced to give away to his Parliament any part of his power, himselfe or any of his posterity, when ever occasion offereth, may lawfully take it back, notwithstanding of any promise, oath or law made to the contrary (*i*).

(d) Ibid. *You whose piety is admirable, whose wisdom and prudence is above the ordinary, and all your equals, so experienced in matters of State, that it is a wonder to them who know you, and incredible to them who have not been eye witnesses.* (e) Ibid. *Your heroicall Acts are worthy of the greatest* Cæsar, *you gained so much as their valiant* Hannibals *and* Scipios. (f) *Sacro Sanct.* p. 180. *One of the Sectaries principles whereby they intoxicate the Vulgar, is that in a Monarchy the Legislative power is communicable to the subject*, ibid. p. 94. *At the admittance of* Saul *God giveth to the subject* Legem parendi; *Soveraignity is an undivided entity, how can you share it among more?* (g) Ibid p. 141. *You totally destroy Monarchy, and must say down right our gracious Soveragne is no Monarch*, p. 142. *An impotent King is the same with no King.* (h) Ibid. p. 144. *The worst bargaine ever subject made, was at any rate to purchase a possession of the sacred Rights of Kings; till these Kingdomes be purged of sacriledge so highly committed against God, by wronging his Anointed, and he be restored to his sacred Rights, we need look for no effectuall blessings of God.* (i) Ibid p. 142. *I doubt not to affirme, but if any good Prince or his Royall Ancestors have been or are cheated, out of their sacred Right by fraud or force, he may at the first opportunity when God in his wise providence offereth occasion resume it.*

A favorer of grosse Popery and Arminianisme.

You see with what a Statesman we have to doe, for his Religion heare a part of it, Episcopacy is a necessary and fundamentall truth,

truth, of Divine Inſtitution and Commandement (*k*). All Eccleſiaſticall Iuriſdiction belongs to the Biſhops alone by Divine Right, no *Preſbyter* ought to bee a member ſo much as of a Provinciall Aſſembly (*l*). That the Kings conſent to the abolition of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, is the true and great cauſe of all the troubles which ſince that time hath befallen him and his ſubjects (*m*). That Abots, Priors and their Religious Houſes of Monks and Fryers are lawfull in the Church (*n*). That Patriarcks and Cardinals are Church Dignities highly to be reverenced (*o*). That the Pope by Divine Right is as true a Biſhop as any other Biſhop in the world, but by humane Eccleſiaſtick Right he is greater then any other (*p*). That *Preſbytery* is worſe then Popery and Ieſuitiſme, that it were much better for any King to put his Dominions under the yoak of the Pope and Ieſuites, then of *Preſbyteries* and *Sy-*

(k) Iſſachar, p. 1. *In the Edition of* Oxford, *Epiſcopacy is the true neceſſary and perpetuall Government of the Church inſtitute by Chriſt; wee deceive our ſelves to expect deliverance from our troubles if wee ſubordinate fundamentals in Religion, neceſſary truths to our civill good.* (l) Ibid. p. 31. *Now is forgotten that of the councel of* Chalcedon, concilium eſt Epiſcoporum, *and that old barbarous but Chriſtian enough verſe,* Ite foras laici, non eſt vobis locus ici. (m) Ibid. p. 2. *What peace hath King or Kingdome enjoyed here or in* Ireland *ſince Epiſcopacy by Law in* Scotland *was damned?* (n) Ibid. p. 49. *Abbots and Priors to* Melvils *time were nominate and admitted to Abbeys and Priories as Church men: but this great Doctor found out another Divinity, that for Abbots and Priors there was none ſuch in the Word of God.* (o) Ibid p. 43. *Cardinall* Beton *a Prieſt and Archbiſhop of ſo high Dignity* (p). Sacro-Sanct. p. 58. *The Pope the Biſhop of* Rome *hath no more by Divine Right, except it bee in extent then the meaneſt Biſhop in his Dioceſſe; what hee may have by poſitive Eccleſiaſticall right, its not pertinent for us now to examine.* Hierome *compareth three of the meaneſt Biſhops with three of the greateſt Patriarcks, Priviledged at that time by Eccleſiaſticall Canons.*

nods (q). That the first Reformation in *Scotland*, *France*, *Holland*, *Germany*, and where ever the supream Magistrate was not the Author and Actor of the worke, was unorderly and sinfull, an action seditious and treasonable, a great cause of all the mischiefes that from that time to this have come upon the Churches, (r) All controversies of Religion, ought to be decided by the writs of the fathers, (s) It is but precise Puritanisme to refuse the *Apocrypha* books, (t) It is presumption for any man upon earth to meddle with the questions of Election and Predestination. (u) All necessity takes away Freedome from the Will. (x) the Schoolmen doe rightly teach that the Sacraments conferre grace by some extrinsecall supervenient pow-

(q) Issachar: *Edition* Oxford, p. 30. *The King is in a worse condition under this soveraignty, then under the Pope*, ibid p. 45. *The Presbytery is or may be in time a mother of as much rebellion and treason as any Iesuitisme of the highest die; if not more: certainly* Rome, *although a whore, is not so bad, nor so abominable.* (r) *Ibid.* p. 36. *This gave life to that tumultuary Reformation, we will never wrong Reformed Religion so much as to count of that as an orderly Reformation; We doubt not but it was attended with much sedition, faction and Rebellion*: p. 41. *I daily heartily bewail that too too much idolised Reformation; if* Knox *and his complices had kept in the way of the old Martyrs, we had bin more happy; sure I am the great and more then ordinary sinnes in them and us, and our forefathers, have brought us to be plunged in these miseries, God sa punishing the sins of that first Reformation, by this second spurious Reformation.* (s) Sacro sanct. p. 59. *Would God both sides in this and other controversies, would submit to the judgement and determination of the holy Fathers.* (t) p. 39. *If our strait laced brethren would be pleased to cast an eye upon Apocrypha, I refer them to Ecclesiasticus.* (u) Sacro sanct. p. 105. *These Seraphicall Doctors make so bold with almighty God, as to unfold the secrets of Predestination, and to define who are the Elect, and who the Reprobate.* (x) *Ibid.* p. 91. *The first act of mans will necessarily, ferrur in summum bonum, this is* actus necessarius non liber, *not so free as it may choose or reject, it is elicited by force, constraint or necessity.*

er,

er, (y) mens ſins are waſhed away by doing of Pennance, (z) Miniſters are Prieſts, (aa) all who have adhered to the Parliament are Sectaries and mad ones, (bb).

(y) Ibid. p. 121. *Schoolmen do confeſſe, that the Sacraments doe not confer grace*, vi naturali phyſica & inhærente, *but* vi morali ſupernaturali & ſuperveniente. (z) *Ibid. p. He was forced to flee and with 40. years pennance and repentance waſh away that guiltineſſe*, (aa) *its high time for Prince and Prieſt to ſtrengthen one another*, (bb) Ibid. p. 38. *No moderate Sectary if any ſuch be*, p. 68. *People thus madded by mad Sectaries and* Shebaes.

By this little taſte of the mans Spirit, we may ſee their wiſedome who bring in ſuch a witneſſe to teſtifie againſt the Reformed Churches; and how good friends they are either to the Parliament or to the true Religion, who recommend this writer with ſo loud praiſes to the diligent peruſall of ſimple people.

It is ſtrange that any gracious Engliſhman ſhould be apt to hear ſlanders againſt the Church of *Scotland*.

The 2d circumſtance I offered was, the object of this calumnious writ, whom does it undertake to defame? the Church of *Scotland*; Is it poſſible for any gratious Engliſhman to applaud this injury.

Who did ſo heartily concurre and ſo much aſſiſt the firſt planting of the Church of *Scotland* as that renouned Queen *Elizabeth* and the ſtate of *England*? our Hiſtory tells us that in all the aſſaults of that Church from the Popiſh and Prelaticall party, we were not only comforted by the encouragements of the Engliſh Anti-epiſcopall Divines, *Cartwright*, *Hilderſham* and all the reſt of the old Non-conformiſts cordially ſympathizing with us, but alſo the Queene and State by continuall Letters, and many gracious Embaſſages, did ever ſupport our cauſe, and aſſiſt us when we needed both with Armies and Monies: knowing that notwithſtanding of all our differences with the Prelates, yet we were moſt firme for the Proteſtant cauſe and welfare of *England*, againſt all Enemies both at home and abroad.

Scotland's old obligations to *England*.

When lately the *Canterburian* deſignes were on foot to change the Religion, and inſlave the ſtate of all the three Kingdomes to an abſolute and Turkiſh Monarchy, or at leaſt ſuch a tyranny as this day is exerciſed by the French and Spaniſh Kings, did not *Scotland* at that time (when no party at all in *England*, nor *Ireland*

England's late obligations to *Scotland*.

land would or durſt appeare) take their lives in their hands, and with courage for the liberty of the whole Iſle, ſet their faces againſt theſe Popiſh Tyrants? did they not with ſuch piety, prudence, moderation and valour mannage that common cauſe, that the bleſſings of all *England*, and of all Proteſtants, yea of all in *Europe* of what ever profeſſion, who loved the juſt liberty of the ſubject, did reſt upon their heads?

Thereafter when that wicked faction glad to be rid of them, and to give them all their deſires according as they were pleaſed to demand them, did turne their Armes from them upon the good ſubjects of *England* and *Ireland*, and in both, had well neer accompliſhed their deſign: *Ireland* having no conſiderable Army to oppoſe the barbarous murtherers, and the Army that was after ſome faint oppoſition, joyning with the Rebells againſt the Parliament. In *England* the *North* and *Weſt* being totally loſt, the Kings great and victorious Armies ready to ſwallow up the remnant, no friend upon earth appearing for the gracious party, their lamentable and deſperate condition was by their Commiſſioners with ſighs and teares repreſented to *Scotland*. Where their Brethren were ſo touched with compaſſion, that laying aſide all thoughts of hazard which was extreamly great, they reſolved to ingage all they had, life, wealth, peace, and what elſe is deare, for to reſcue the Engliſh out of the pit of their viſible, imminent and otherwiſe unavoidable ruine. They ſent to *Ireland* an Army of ten thouſand well appointed men, who baniſhed the Barbars out of *Ulſter*, where they were ſtrongeſt, and out of the moſt of *Conaught*, keeping ſo much of that Iſle in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, as made it eaſie for them when ever they thought fit to regaine the reſt.

They ſent into *England* a gallant well-armed & governed company of twenty thouſand *effective*, who by Gods bleſſing, themſelvs alone, did ruine the Kings main & greateſt Army under *Newcaſtle*, and joyning with others of the Parliaments forces at *Long-Marſton*, did ſo break and defeat the prime of all the reſt of the Kings forces met together, that they were never after able to bring to the fields any Army very conſiderable, either for number or courage. Much occaſion of action was not thereafter afforded, yet the keeping quiet of all the new conqueſts by *North Trent*, and the holding the neighbouring Aſſociations in awe til the Parliaments

liaments forces at their leasure did take up the rest of the country, was no small service.

In these actions the *Scots* did spend very much precious blood, many of them did endure much hardship both in *England* and *Ireland*, and at home by the Pestilence; by a prevailing Enemy, by intestine discouragements and divisions, all flowing from their friendship with *England*, they were overwhelmed with greater miseries then their fathers had seen for many hundred yeares, and which grieved them more then all things else, they were entertained by too many of them for whom they suffered all these evills with so great unkindnesse, they were loadned with so many calumnious and contumelious aspersions, the Reformation of Religion their greatest aime went so farre back before their eyes, that their provocations were great, to provide at last for themselves while something yet at home did remain to them to be preserved. But beholding visibly in their retreat and provision for themselves, the certain ruine of their unadvised friends, they chused rather to put up with patience all their sufferings and quietly to wait on till the ruine of the Enemy, and setling of their brethrens estate by their help, might open the eyes of all, and bring the most perverse to Repentance for their misbehaviour towards the instruments of their welfare; especially when they did see the invincible fidelity of the *Scots* unbrangled with the greatest temptations.

Though in all their late unexpressible extremities they had received no assistance at all from *England*, nor much importuned them for it, though to their greatest griefe they did see the Gangren of Heresie and Schisme without the application of any true remedy, overspreading all *England* so fast, that the infection of *Scotland* with this Pestilence seemed unavoidable, though the current of affaires did seem to run in that channell, that the person and family of the King, the authority of the Parliament, the Liberties of the City and Kingdome might be cast ere long into no small hazard; our Army also and Nation for no other cause but their constant resolutions to keep to their first principles, did seem to stand in a very neer possibility to be totally destroyed; yet for all this they were farre from any rash or unjust conclusion, their eyes were towards the Lord, they did wait for his deliverance, and when by him an opportunity was put in their

hands to right themſelves with the diſadvantage of others, yet they did mannage that occaſion with ſo much juſtice, wiſedome, dexterity and ſucceſſe, that all the world they hope is ſatisfied with their honeſty, as of men who minded nothing more then the ſaving of the whole Iſle from theſe calamities that viſibly were imminent; the re-eſtabliſhing of the King in his throne, the confirming of the Parliament, City, and Country in all their rights, the ſetling of Religion and peace according to the word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, and their owne quick returne to their homes in very eaſie and equitable termes, enriched with nothing ſo much as with a conſcience of well deſerving, with the bleſſings of all *England*, with the commendation of Neighbour nations, and with the hopes of the Poſterities favourable conſtruction of their whole deportment in this great action. That ſuch a people as this ſhould be traduced and defamed by contumelious Libels in *England*, and that at *London* with the contentment or patience of any, it would ſeeme a matter very ſtrange, if the moſt abſurd and ſtrange things were not here long agoe become common.

The Independents and *Eraſtians* in printing and publiſhing this book are many waies faulty.

The third circumſtance conſiderable, is the inſtruments and preſent publiſhers of this writ: That a Biſhop at *Oxford* ſhould have been countenanced in writing a *Satyre againſt the Scots*, whom all the Malignants did hate as the chiefe and firſt Authors of the miſcarriage of their great deſigne, we doe not marvaile: but that at *London* our ſworn and covenanted Brethren ſhould be avowed proclaimers of *Scotlands* diſgrace, it is a peece of ſingular and unexpected unkindneſſe: Our Brethren whether *Independents*, or *Eraſtians* or both who have procured this Edition, and with ſo much ſedulity make it paſſe from hand to hand, though they had been pleaſed to caſt behind their backs all the good offices which this laſt century of yeares have paſt betwixt the Kingdomes, though they had baniſhed all gratitude towards the *Scots* for their late actions and ſufferings: though their conſcience had permitted them to have trod under foot all the Oaths and Covenants whereby they ſtand expreſly tyed to defend the Reformation of the Church of *Scotland* againſt the common Enemy: Yet I would know of them how they are become thus unadviſed to let their indignation againſt the Scottiſh Presbytery ſwell up ſo high, as for their hatred thereunto, to venture the deſtruction

of

of the Parliament of *England*, to declare all the Members of both Houſes at *Weſtminſter* damnable Traitors, becauſe dying in the act of Rebellion without Repentance; but all who have periſhed on the Malignant ſide to be a kinde of Martyrs, as being unjuſtly killed for their duty to God and the King; to bring back Biſhops to the houſe of Lords, to put into their hands alone, and that by Divine Right all the Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction of the whole Church of *England*. And if they were reſolute in their hatred of Presbytery, thus far to miſcarry, I would further know if either the *Eraſtians* or *Independents* have any principles for the reduction of Popery, for the re-erection in *England* of Abbots Cardinals and Popes: And if men againſt their owne principles muſt needs run thus mad, yet that they ſhould be permitted to act according to their madnes in the day-light, under the eye and noſe of ſo wiſe, juſt and prudent a Parliament, it is and will be long hereafter a matter of very great admiration, eſpecially to them who at the ſame time did behold ſome other writs for much ſmaller reflections, purged with the hand of the Hangman by fire in many publique places, and their publiſhers how well deſerving ſoever otherwiſe both of Church and State, ſtigmatized with notes of high infamy.

Theſe three conſiderations are but proemicall, the fourth concerning the particular matter of the Treatiſe is the principall: If I ſhould examine every thing it would be tedious, yet ſhall I touch upon every paſſage that I conceive to be materiall.

This ſecond Edition has a new Title Page, and ſome additions in the Preface: In the very inſcription *Iſſachars burthen*, there is a ſalt Gybe at the preſent Government; that which the Proverbe wont to appropriate to the Peaſants of *France*, that they were ſtrong Aſſes willing to beare all Burthens ſo they might live in peace in that fat ſoyle, by this good Patriot is contumeliouſly applyed to *England*; it now is the Aſſe, crouching under two burthens, if *Preſbyterie* be the one, the *Parliament* muſt be the other; theſe be the two unſupportable burthens pointed at along all the Authors Writs: the two light burthens which he every where cryes up are Monarchy ſcrued up to the higheſt pinne of Tyrannicall Prerogative and Epiſcopacy in all its Papall Priviledges, both well faſtned upon the Aſſes back by the cords of a Divine Right: who ever for the love of peace in a plentifull

The title *Iſſachars burthen* is a doliſh reproach of this preſent Paliament.

Land will ſet their ſhoulders under this double burthen, are *Iſſachars* Aſſes indeed; but truly the *Scots* have not merited this commendation, for their Land is not among the moſt plentifull, nor have their backs been very patient of ſuch burthens, but rather then to crouch under them, they have kicked at their drivers, and have taught their riders to be more warie then they were wont in overloading their poore Aſſes.

The groundleſſe calumnies of the title-page contemptible.

What is added in the Title, that the *Preſbyteriall* Government of *Scotland* is Tyrannicall, and inconſiſtant with Monarchy, that it is ſo much worſe then Epiſcopacy, as the bite of a Scorpion is worſe then a Rod, we ſhall believe it when the ſubſequent Treatiſe makes it good, which doubtleſſe ſhall bee done when the Author has demonſtrate his aſſertion, that Popery and Jeſuitiſme are burthens much more eaſie and rather to be choſen then the *Scottiſh Preſbytery*, in the meane while till the prooſes come, juſt men will allow us to take all this, but for the bellowes of a ſtomack overchatged with firy and enraged humours.

All the Liberty he grants to people is to be slaves to Tyrants.

In the Preface, to ſhew his skill in the Politicks, he firſt ſets down as two moſt friendly Companions, the Royall Prerogative and the Liberty of the People: but behold wherein here he inſinuats, and ellewhere at length proclaimes the knot and bond of their concord to conſiſt: The King by his Prerogative is the only Law-giver both for Church and State, The people for all their Liberty, by Divine Inſtitution, are appointed to obey and doe their ſervices, though both Church and State were never ſo injuriouſly oppreſſed by the cruelleſt Tyrants. So our Parliaments, our Church Aſſemblies, our defenſive Armes muſt all be buried together in one Pit. This is the firſt eaſe that *Iſſachars* Aſſe gets of its burthen, by the hand of this merciſull driver.

The diſcordant concord of Prelates, Erastians, & Independents, in the point of Supremacy.

In the next two Paragraphs he advances the Royall Prerogative to an externall Epiſcopacy, no man I know, in this is his oppoſite; but while he makes this externall Epiſcopacy no leſſe then a true headſhip over the Church, and the denyall of it in this ſence, to be a dethroning, an uncrowning, a ſtabbing, a trampling under foot of Kings, I know no living man agreeing with him herein. It is certaine, Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* and their Biſhops did reject this odious and Papall Prerogative

gative of headſhip over the Church; alſo how farre either your *Eraſtian* or *Independent* friends will goe along with you in the preſent diſcourſe, you will reckon at your leaſure among your ſelves. You tell the *Eraſtians* that Kings for all their Prerogative, yet have no more power of Excommunication and Eccleſiaſtick cenſures, then of preaching the Word and Adminiſtring the Sacraments; you tell them alſo that the Royall Prerogative reaches not to the making of a Church Canon, nor to the degrading or ſilencing of a Preacher, but only to the calling of an Aſſembly of Divines for theſe works which are part of their proper and ſpirituall charge. You tell your *Independent* friends that the Magiſtrate has power aſſigned to him by God, to impriſon and puniſh all, who either by their Hereticall or Schiſmaticall Tenents trouble the peace of the Church: It is like theſe morſells will not be a food of very eaſie digeſtion to their tender ſtomacks.

The next three Paragraphs are but meere invectives (as juſtly you ſtile your own language,) againſt the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, for defending their own lives and liberties againſt your Malignant Faction; you make them all to be men without any conſcience, without all faith, all Religion, all honeſty, wicked and Rebellious Hypocrites, ſhedders of innocent blood, deſtroyers of many brave ſpirits and Ancient Families, Authors of Maſſacres, murders, rapines; Villaines more cruell and bloody then Turks or Infidels, whom God will deſtroy as he did *Core* and his Complices for their inſurrection againſt *Moſes* and *Aron*.

The publiſhing of this book is a grievous injury to the Parliament.

May we not here marvell at your partiality, who having ſeen with your eyes, the practiſes of the *Rebels* in *Ireland*, and of the Malignants at *Oxford*, you ſhould yet have the conſcience to beſtow all this good language upon us and no word of it in all your Writs upon them; or ſhall we marvell at the *Independents* and *Eraſtians* wiſdome, who think it fit upon ſome mal contentment with their friends to make themſelves blazers of ſuch railing and curſed calumnies againſt themſelves and their whole party: or ſhall we marvell at the Parliaments patience, who permits the *Rabſhakehs* of *Oxford* to walk peaceably upon the Streets of *London*, and to be welcomed within every doore though openly they caſt upon all our faces the excrements of the worſt of their paſſions.

In

A Petition extremly unreasonable, to believe an infamous mans word without any proofe.

In the last two Sections of the Preface, there is a Prayer and a Propheſie, we are prayed to believe and that without probations, that all the following Hiſtories are meere Goſpel, all moſt true and certaine: of this ſo modeſt a deſire, we have a good reaſon given us *fides non extorquetur vi, ſed ratione & exemplis ſuadetur, Ergo* we muſt give up our belieſe, and force our faith to aſſent to all that hereafter ſhall be ſaid, though neither Scripture, Reaſon, nor Authority be ſo much as alledged for it; I take this Logick to be none of the beſt.

What is ſpoken of the Authors Gravity and Learning, wee ſhall take it as we find it, he is as others of the faction for learning, neither with the firſt nor with the laſt, but for effronted boldneſſe he is ſecond I dare ſay to none of them all; as for piety none that ever knew him young or old, will ſweare him guilty of any ſuch imputation. That he was an eye witneſſe of the Stories he relates is evidently falſe, for all except a very few of his Relations, are of things paſt before his birth, at leaſt before the yeares of his diſcretion, and what he reports of our late troubles he did not ſee, for then was he buſie executing *Canterburies* commands in his Dioceſſe of *Roſſe*, an out corner of our Kingdome, and ſo ſoon as that ſtorme began to blow a little loud, he quickly fled out of the Land, whither he never yet returned, being conſcious of his deſervings, for of all the *Scots* Clergy, he alone was declared Incendiary, and him only did the juſtice of the Parliament of *Scotland* appoint to tread in the laſt footſteps of *William Laud*, as he had done in the former with great joy.

A falſe and mad propheſy.

The Propheſie is a Prediction of *Englands* totall deſtruction, if Epiſcopacy be not reſtored, the warrant of this Propheſie is as good as the former prayer, a Biſhops jeſt in the Counſell of *Trent*, and one of *Eſops* Fables, upon ſuch grounds alone, does this ſevere Prophet pronounce from the heaven, *Englands* deſtruction, were not a *Scotiſh* bit, as he calls it very fit for the mouth, and an *Engliſh* rod or ſpurre for the ſides of ſuch a preſumptuous Prophet? we ſhall ſay no more to the Preface.

The whole Treatiſe is but an extract of the moſt falſe and venemous parts of *Spotſwoods* ſtory.

In the Treatiſe it ſelfe you draw your diſcourſe to foure heads, the Church Seſſion or Congregationall Eldership, the Claſſicall *Presbytery*, Provinciall Synod, and generall Aſſembly, upon ſome of theſe foure you draw in what ever diſgracefull Story you have

have either heard or read of any Churchmen of *Scotland* oppo-
site to your way. The great fountaine of all your bitter waters, is
that ciſtern which *Spotſwood* of St *Andrewes* did endeavour all his
life time to gather together; in that Collection the Authors great
intention was to heap up all things he conceived might make the
Presbyteriall Government hatefull, and the Epiſcopall lovely;
but being certain of great contradiction from many who knew as
much in affairs as himſelfe, and were much more willing to ſpeak
truth without diſguiſe, he kept in this book while he lived, that it
might not ſee the light till after his death, when he was not to be
argued with for any of his lying and malicious Narrations. This
Manuſcript falling in your hands, you draw out of it what is moſt
venemous, and of that ſtuffe make up this preſent booke. There
are long agoe in *Scotland* prepared, ſufficient Antidotes againſt
the poiſon of the whole ſtory, wherby any man may be furniſhed
without difficulty towards the full confutation of your extracts;
but the groſſeneſſe of your Lyes did cry ſo loud at this time for
an anſwer, that the patience of many good people admitted not
of ſo long a delay, as that I could be furniſhed from a far with a-
ny materials; yet out of the ſmall ſtore of my knowledge and
memory of the affaires you ſpeake of, and by ſome few helps
which my preſent accomodations doe furniſh, I will venture to
give you a ſudden anſwer, which I hope ſhall prove ſatisfactory
enough to all ingenuous Readers, who will not affect to cavill,
if there ſhall be found any materiall defect, reply when you will,
you ſhall have a rejoynder.

Upon your firſt head of Church Seſſions you ſpend your firſt
three pages, wherein you make us aſcribe to our Congregatio-
nall Elderſhips much undue and tyrannick power.

Page 1. The Church of *Scotland* gives no more power to congregationall Elderſhips then both the Independents and Eraſtians doe allow.

To this I anſwer in generall; Firſt, That we give no more
power to congregationall Elderſhips then the Churches of
France, of *Holland*, of *New-England* aſcribe to them, both in
their doctrine and daily practiſe. Secondly, the power we aſcribe
to them cannot be challenged either by Independents or *Eraſti-*
ans for the Independents great plea with us, is about the defect
that we give not power enough to that Court, with our exceſſe
herein they were never offended; as for the *Eraſtians* they will
not queſtion with us about any power which the Parliament will
be pleaſed to allow unto that Elderſhip; now your ſelfe doth

know

know that our Church Seſſions practiſe not any power, but that which the Acts of our Parliament do warrant, our liberty there is not aſtricted to any certaine enumerate caſes, but I dare ſay that in many yeares we will not have occaſion in our Congregationall Elderſhips to meddle in any caſe; which even this Parliament hath not already allowed, or will not (as I conceive) be willing upon the firſt Emergency to allow.

The ground of the Prelates quarrell is abſurd.

I grant you Prelates are here our oppoſites, but how juſtly, let equitable men judge; you tell us that congregationall Elderſhips ought to have no power at all, becauſe forſooth, the whole power of all ſpirituall juriſdiction, muſt reſide in the Biſhop alone: It is your principle that in all the Preachers and in all the Congregations of the whole Dioceſſe yea of the whole Kingdome, there is not ſo much power as to give to any man for what ever crime, a publike admonition; yet any Lay man in the Kingdom or out of the Kingdom, whom the Biſhop is pleaſed to make his Officiall or Chancellor, may keep a Court in any part of the Dioceſſe, and therein paſſe a ſentence of Excommunication againſt the beſt Paſtors and chiefe Members of any Congregation; becauſe the Scots ſince their firſt Reformation could never by any Art, nor by any Force, be gotten inſlaved to ſuch a Tirranny; therefore it is, that you, your Colleagues, and your Fathers, have been offended with them, and in your anger have inventeth theſe calumnies which here you are pleaſed to object.

The Prelates give much more Eccleſiaſticall power to Laymen, then we to ruling Elders

The firſt particular crime which ye lay to our charge is, That we doe give ſome power of ſpirituall juriſdiction to ruling Elders and that by a Divine Right; We grant the charge, and thinke it eaſie to demonſtrate the warrant of our Tenet both from Scripture, and the practiſe of all the ancient, and all the reformed Churches; but it is needleſſe here to digreſſe into that debate, for this is not your maine quarrell with us that we give ſome power or juriſdiction to thoſe you call Lay-Elders, but that we aſcribe any part of juriſdiction to any at all beſide the Biſhop, for you know it is an Article of the Prelaticall Creed, That a preaching Elder hath no more intereſt in juriſdiction then a lay Elder, that for this kinde of power, Prieſt and people are all alike; That neither of them of themſelves by vertue of their office have any dram thereof, yet by vertue of a Commiſſion from the Biſhop either of them is capable of a pleni-potency, and are able

able to doe the acts of the higheſt ſpirituall juriſdiction; what the Ieſuites were wont to aſcribe unto the Pope in the Church univerſall, That the Biſhop takes to himſelf in his own Dioceſſe: he, and he alone, by Divine right, is the head, the ſun, the fountaine, the onely receptacle of all ſpirituall jurisdiction which he keeps to himſelfe, or communicates to be execute by others; for the time, the meaſure, the perſons, according to his own good pleaſure. The Eraſtian principle is only different in this, that they pull the Pope and the Biſhop out of the chaire, that there may be roome to ſet downe the Magiſtrate in their place.

What you ſpeak of the Deacons, it is a miſtake; for albeit they be preſent in the Elderſhip to receive their directions for the poore, yet they doe not voice in any well governed Elderſhip, nor do they claime any power in juriſdiction: Concerning Doctors, that populous Congregations *wants them*, it comes not from any deſigne, but for want either of meanes or of Idoneous and willing perſons.

We grant to Deacons no power of jurisdiction, we wiſh there were Doctors in populous congregations page 2.

What you ſpeake of the yearely election of Elders, the matter is this; There is not in any Congregation of *Scotland* which I doe know, a yearly election of Elders, but in populous Cities, where the Elders are many and diverſe of them unable to attend that charge, without the hurt of their eſtate, the moſt of them being Merchants and Tradeſmen, who muſt travell for their livelyhood: they have a liberty to be free from that ſervice every two yeere, if ſo they be content to attend upon a call every third yeere, the Levites attended the ſervice of the Temple but a few months in the yeare: What is right or wrong in this cuſtome of ſome few of our Congregations, we are willing to debate it, and as it ſhall be found juſt or unjuſt, to keep or change that practiſe, for in ſuch things we love not to be contentious.

In ſome few congregations Elders have a diſpenſation for a time.

In your three laſt Sections yee do caſt upon the Elderſhip in hand, a rabble of incongruous practiſes; what you bring of pecuniary mulcts, impriſonments, baniſhments, jogges, cutting of haire, and ſuch like, it becomes neither you to charge, nor us to be charged with any ſuch matters: No Church-aſſembly in *Scotland* aſſumes the leaſt degree of power, to inflict the ſmalleſt civill puniſhment upon any perſon; the Generall Aſſembly it ſelfe hath no power to fine any creature ſo much as in one groat: It is true, the Lawes of the Land, appoint pecuniary mulcts, impriſonment, joggs, pilleries, and baniſhment

Page 3. No Elderſhip inflicts any civill puniſhment although the Magiſtrate in the Elderſhip doth ſo ſometimes.

niſhment for ſome odious crimes, and the power of putting theſe Laws in execution is placed by the Parliament in the hands of the inferiour Magiſtrates in Burroughs or Shires, or of others to whom the Counſel Table gives a ſpeciall Commiſſion for that end; ordinarily ſome of theſe civill perſons are ruling Elders, and ſit with the Elderſhip: So when the Elderſhip have cognoſced upon the ſcandall alone of criminall perſons, and have uſed their ſpirituall cenſures only to bring the party to Repentance, ſome of the Ruling Elders, by vertue of their civill office or commiſſion will impoſe a Mulct, or ſend to Priſon or ſtocks or baniſh out of the bounds of ſome little circuit, according as the Acts of Parliament or counſell do appoint it. But that the Elderſhip ſhould imploy its Eccleſiaſtick and Spirituall power for any ſuch end, none of us doe defend. That either in *Scotland* or any where elſe in the world, the haire of any perſon is commanded to be cut by any Church judicatory for diſgrace and puniſhment, is (as I take it) but a fooliſh fable. That any perſon truely penitent is threatned in *Scotland*, with Church cenſures for non-payment of Monies, is in the former Category of calumnies.

Biſhops confound miſerably the ſpirituall and civill office.

But ſuppoſe that all your alleagations were true, yet how congruouſly does a challenge of this kind come from your mouth? do you think that all civill imployments are incompatible with ſpirituall offices? How many Miniſters did you get to be Iuſtices of Peace? you your ſelfe were a judge of Common-pleas; your colleague S. *Andrewes*, was Chancellor of the Kingdom; you know the Treaſurers white ſtaffe was very neer to your hands, and for the miſſing of it what ſtir you made: Many of you were Lords of Counſel, and all of you Lords both of Parliament, and temporall Lordſhips and Regalities, where your Baylies kept Court in your names, diverſe of your Coat with your good liking, have been Secretaries of State, Keepers of the Privy Seale, Leger Ambaſſadors with forraign Princes: your brethren over Sea in *France*, and *Spaine*, *Germany* and *Italy*, are Admirals of Royall Navies, are Generals of Land forces, are Princes of Temporall Eſtates, according to theſe principles that I thinke you doe approve, according to your Cannons in *Scotland*, and your ordinary practiſe in *England*. Great ſummes of mony were exacted in your ſpirituall Courts, and pocketed up for private uſes; how many have been excommunicate there, for non-payment of a ſhilling, and refuſed abſolution, till their fine was payed with increaſe? what

do

do you ſpeak to us of a pecuniary mulct, of a very ſmall and unconſiderable value taken up by the Magiſtrate, and imployed only in pious uſes? Why doe you ſpeak to us of cutting of Beards, when your Prelates doe burne the cheeks; how many gracious ſoules have been ſtarved to death in your Epiſcopall dungeons? how many thouſands have you baniſhed out of Britaine, out of *Europe*, for no fault at all but their zeale to the truth of God? how many hundred thouſand hath your pride and obſtinacy in error, cauſed to be ſlaine within theſe ſeven yeares; in the next age ignorant men may be pardoned to deny theſe things, but it were great impudence this day to deny them, when yet we do ſticke in the Pit of theſe troubles, wherein the madneſſe of you Prelates hath caſt us.

Your objection about the *Baptiſme of Baſtards* is vain; for we refuſe not that Sacrament to any of them, if either of the Parents profeſſe Repentance, and undertake for the Chriſtian education of their child, but the ground of your quarrelling in this Point is, that we cannot follow your Popiſh Doctrine, that we refuſe to profeſſe the actuall regeneration of all baptized Infants, and that we dare not put all unbaptized perſons in the ſtate of unregeneration and damnation.

We refuſe Baptiſm to no infant where either of the Parents will undertake for Chriſtian education.

Your next head concerns the Claſſicall Presbytery; your firſt Objection againſt it, which a little thereafter, and oft elſewhere you do ingeminate, is, That the King and his family are ſubject to its Juriſdiction: I would gladly know if among the reſt of the Prelaticall abſurdities this were one: That Chriſtian Princes and Magiſtrates are fully exempted from all Eccleſiaſtick juriſdiction; ſometimes your party would ſeem to ſpeake ſo, as if every Magiſtrate, at leaſt every Prince were ſuch a God upon earth that none might ſay to any of them, Sir, what are you doing, though they were running to hell themſelves, and drawing at their heels, all they were able: This is ſo groſſe a flattery, that all adviſed Princes abhorre it, and confeſſe themſelves to be ſubject to Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline as well as others; for they know if they ſhould exempt themſelves from this part of Chriſtian religion, they ſhould preſently be in hazard of looſing the benefit of all the reſt; for Chriſtianity is a body of Articles ſo ſtraitly joyned, that either all muſt be received or none.

Page 4, 5. No Prince pleads for any exemption from Eccleſiaſtick juriſdiction.

You your ſelfe (though among the abſurdeſt of all your fac-

on) do confeſſe ſo much as any Presbyterian in the world did ever thinke of: you ſay that the Crowne and Scepter is ſubject, not only to the directive power of the Church (expound the Church as you will, for a Congregationall Claſſicall or Nationall Eldership, it is alike for the preſent Queſtion) but alſo to the authoritative power of the ſame whereby the Church does proceed not onely *in foro interiori conſcientiæ* but alſo *exteriori eccleſiæ* to cenſure as it finds cauſe.

No Presbytery did ever enter in any proceſſe with a ſupream Magiſtrate.

Thus far you and the moſt Monarchik of the Prelates goe; that in doctrine any Presbyterian Divine went ever further, I doe not know, but in practiſe never one of them went ſo far: Some B ſhops have actually excommunicate the beſt of the Emperours upon their enormous Scandalls; but that any Presbyterian did ever ſo much as begin a proceſſe with any Prince, when they had the greateſt provocations thereto, it cannot be ſhewed to this day. The Church of *Scotland* notwithſtanding all the croſſe actions of King *Iames* or King *Charles* againſt them, in overturning not only the accidentalls, but many of the ſubſtantials of their Religion, and in perſecuting them without all cauſe, with fire and ſword, and all the calamities of a bloody warre, yet did they never ſo much as bethink themſelves of drawing againſt any of them, or any of their kindred or ſpeciall ſervants, the ſword of Church cenſures. The Church of *France* alwaies wholly Presbyterian, when *Henry* the fourth one of their Members apoſtatiſed from them to the Pope, did never ſo much as enter into a conſultation of delivering him into the hands of Satan. Without all peradventure, Presbyterians are much more tender then any other Chriſtians of what ever name, to meddle with Magiſtrates by the cenſures of the Church.

In the next Paragraph you flee out againe upon the ruling Elders, as if it were abſurd for any of their coat to ſit in Eccleſiaſticall Judicatories; all the ground of your quarrell is, their want of an Epiſcopall Commiſſion; with this qualification you can admit any Lay-man not onely to ſit in Eccleſiaſticall Judicatories, but to ſit there as ſole and onely judge; you can make them your Vicar generalls before whom all the Clergy of your Dioceſſe muſt ſtand to be examined and judged, for the diſcharge of their duty in all Eccleſiaſtick adminiſtrations. The Prelates have no queſtion with the Presbyterians about the perſons

of

of Laymen as they call them, whether they may be Members of Spirituall Courts, but about their calling, both grant the lawfulneſs of the thing, but the Prelats doe found it upon a Commiſſion from themſelves, The Presbyterians preſſe their calling from God and the Church according to Scripture.

What you object of Lay-men moderating our Presbyteries and Aſſemblies, is no more then the ordinary practiſe of our Prelates; how often has Sir *Nathaniel Brent* and other Gentlemen meerly Civilians, ſitting not only as Prolocutors, but as Vicar generalls, and ſo only Iudges, before whom the whole Clergy of the Dioceſſe of *London* or of *Canterbury*, have appeared as my Lord Biſhops ſubjects for their tryall and cenſure: albeit in *Scotland* we never had any ſuch cuſtome as you object; for the Moderators of our Church meetings doe begin and end with ſolemn prayers, now ruling Elders have not a calling to pray publickly in the Church; alſo they are but aſſiſtants in Diſcipline, the principall charge lies upon the labourers in the Word and Doctrine; we doe not allow to an Aſſiſtant the place of the Principall. All the moderators of our Aſſembly are preachers.

As for the men whom you name, we grant none of them was in the Orders you ſpeak of, neither of Deacon, Prieſt, nor Biſhop; you meane preaching Deacons; Orthodox men in *Scotland*, as now in *England*, doe reject all theſe Orders as Popiſh; further I did never heare that any of the three perſons you name, did ever moderate any of our Aſſemblies; their is no reaſon that for this or any thing elſe, we ſhould take your bare aſſertion or the word of any of your Coleagues for a ſufficient proofe: but giving all you alledge to be true, the firſt man you name, you confeſſe was a Reader, now ye know at the beginning of our Reformation, our Readers were Ordained to be truly Miniſters, to be Prieſts in your dialect; for they did exhort and preach as they were able and celebrate the Sacraments. The ſecond man you name Mr *Melvil*, was a Doctor of Divinity and ſo long as Epiſcopall perſecution permitted, did ſit with great renoune in the prime chaire we had of that faculty: *George Buchanan* had ſometimes as I have heard, beene a Preacher at St *Andrewes*, after his long travells, he was employed by our Church and State to be a Teacher to King *James* and his Family: of his faithfulneſſe in this charge, he left I believe to the world good and ſatisfactory tokens

tokens: the eminency of this person was so great, that no society of men need bee ashamed to have been moderated by his wicked me.

Expectants are not Lay-Preachers.

Your next exception against the *Presbytery* is for their Expectants, these be the Sonnes of the Prophets who in their preparations for the Ministery, at their first exercises for assay and tryall are heard in the *Presbytery*; with this practise no reasonable man can finde fault; it is naturally impossible for any without a miracle, to attaine the habite of preaching but by divers Initiall and preparatory actions; where can these be so fitly performed as in the Classes? The Expectants are present in the Classes for their training not as Members, for they doe not voyce in any matters of Discipline. The true mystery of this controversie is that the Expectants are permitted to preach before the holy hands of a Bishop have conferred upon them the Order of a Deacon, and so power to preach and baptize: The Church of *Scotland* did alwayes reject this corruption as clearly contrary to Scripture.

The *Presbytery* of *Edingburgh* usurp no power over any other.

Your gird at the *Presbytery* of *Edenburgh* is weak and unconsiderable; for that meeting has no power at all above the meanest *Presbytery* in the Kingdome, notwithstanding of all the service which the gifts of the Members thereof may performe to any who are pleased to crave their advice. Its not to be supposed but men of eminent gifts where ever they live must have an influence upon many others; we doe remember it to our griefe, that you and your Companions while you lived in that *Presbytery* which you mock, did send forth your Episcopall, *Arminian* and Popish poyson to all the corners of the Land, East, West, South and North.

Pag. 6. King *Iames* aversion from *Presbytery* and affection to Episcopacy makes not this the better nor that the worse.

That King *Iames* at *Hampton Court*, and elsewhere did speak his pleasure of the *Presbytery*, makes it nothing the worse: his resolution to keep up Episcopacy in *England* for his own ends, moved him to discountenance what ever opposed it; yet so, that in his *Basilicon doron* & at divers other occasions he gave *luculent* Testimonies to many *Presbyterian* Divines of his own acquaintance, preferring them for grace and honesty before all those whom he could make willing to accept of Bishopricks.

The best Princes are not void of Errours. the greatest mistake of this wise Prince was in his too great affection towards Episcopacy

copacy, the *Presbyterian* Nobles and Divines in *Scotland* set him in his Infancy upon his Throne, when his life and Crown without their cordiall assistance was given by all men for gone; in all his great feares from *Spaine*, or any where else at home or abroad, so long as he remained in *Scotland*, his recourse was only to them, and notwithstanding of the very hard measure which oft they had received and still feared from him, yet did they never faile to support him in his need, neither ever had they any difference with him but that which flowed from the unhappy fountaine in hand. Had it been the will of God, that this, otherwise very wise Prince, at his first comming into *England* had cast over the hedge of that Church, the evill weed of Bishops and their Ceremonies, he had certainly procured much greater peace to his own minde, and in all probability prevented the huge mischieses which from this neglect above all other causes doe this day overwhelme his house and all his Kingdomes.

What here you subjoyn to prove the pride of the Presbytery and the state it kept with King *Iames*, is an ill conceived bob; when the Prince was pleased to honour them with a Message, was it not better manners and greater civility for them to returne an answer by some of their owne number, then by his Majesties owne Messengers; had they sent their mindes otherwise, how much more would the Prelatick Courtiers have cryed out upon their saucinesse and pedantick Rusticity. Page 7, 8. No Presbytery did ever keep any state with the King.

The next Tale you tellus is, of the Presbyteries severity and unjustice in bringing shame upon many yong women on groundlesse suspicions, of putting them in prison till they confesse their secret sins, in forcing them to clear themselves by oathes in the Congregation, of needlesse jealousies: This tale is delated with many odious circumstances; but consider first that you shoot your Arrowes at the wrong Butt: You may remember the Classicall Presbytery uses not to meddle with any such matters; its true, the Congregationall Eldership by clear Divine Right, and consent of all differing parties, take notice of the manners of the whole flocke, if pregnant presumptions of fornication be delated to the Eldership by any Officer, they will send to admonish the parties deferred, but first in private with all discretion and tenderneſſe; if secret admonitions be contemned, and persons wilfully The Presbytery is very tender of the fame of all persons, though the Magistrate punish strumpets.

fully will continue in a ſcandalous behaviour, then will they call them before the Elderſhip, and after earneſt requeſt, if nothing elſe can do it, will at laſt ordaine them to eſchew converſing together in private and ſuſpect places: but for calling of any before the Elderſhip upon light preſumptions, for priſons, for feeding with bread and water, for troubling of families, its but a Prelatical calumny. This indeed is true, ſome known whores and ſtrumpets when they have brought forth children in fornication, and refuſe abſolutely to name the Father, or when they give up ſuch men as all know to be innocent; the Magiſtrate will put them in priſon for ſome time: and if a flagrant ſcandall of fornication ariſe upon perſons who deſire themſelves to be cleered, they will be admitted to purge themſelves by their oath in the Elderſhip or in the Congregation as the flagrancy of the Scandal, or the parties themſelves do require, but what is all this to theſe odious fables here related? it ſeems you were angry at another matter, which I will here ſpeak out for you.

It does not curiously inquire in ſecret faults but knowne crimes it doth not paſſe by.

Scotland however ſubject to many ſins, yet I dare ſay is much more free of fornications and adulteries among people of any faſhion, then any Nation I know or have heard of, this makes the converſation of perſons there to be free and without all ſuſpicion except on very good ground; but if ſuch crimes be clear, there is no ſparing of any perſon of what ever quality, all are called to an account; that is the matter which ſeems to burn you: Your boſome companion Mr. *Menteth* having deboſhed a prime Lady in his flock, when no ſecret advertiſement could break off that wickedneſſe, though a child or two were brought forth, the honourable friends of the Knight who was wronged, could keep no longer patience, but did openly crave juſtice, whereby *Menteth* was caſt out of the Church and Kingdome, and the Adultereſſe divorced from her Husband; at this and the like procedure you are grieved, your meekneſſe would have all ſuch abominations covered, and remedied only by Auricular confeſſion. That this Epiſcopal indulgence flowes from no merciful diſpoſition, it appears well by their ordinary rigour, preſſing the moſt gracious Miniſters and others, for the ſmalleſt oppoſition to any of their Traditions, with their Oaths *ex Officio*, and caſting them upon their meere pleaſure into the cloſeſt priſons and greateſt afflictions; well may the malevolence of Enemies

declaime

declame againſt the ſevetity of Presbyteries and paint them out as moſt cruell and intollerable inquiſitions; but beleeve it they that know and have ſeen them either in *France*, *Holland*, or *Scotland*, can aſſure that the fault if any be, fals upon the other hand of too great indulgence; no man is called before them but for a notorious fault, perſons of any tollerable civility or circumſpection, uſe not to be called all their life time to any account of their behaviour; if the Presbytery were able to give ſo ſatisfactory an anſwer for its to great meekneſſe unto the Sectaries challenge, as it can to the Prelates for its too great ſtrictneſſe, I ſhould be very glad.

What is ſubjoynd of the Presbyteries medling with Trade and commerce, of diſchargeing men to perſue for their debts, and Landlords to ſue for their Rents, are ſtories ſo true, as the father of lies is wont to dite to his obedient children: Poſſibly in the eighty eight yeare of God when the Spaniards were comming to deſtroy the Land, ſome godly perſons had diſſwaded their Neighbours, to carry victuals to *Spaine* at that time; and ſome men may have had ſcruple of conſcience for ſending of waxe, and furniſhing of immediate materials for Idolatry; I beleeve alſo that gracious Miniſters have given private counſel to rigorous exacters of their Rents, and unmercifull perſuers of their debts; But that ever any Presbytery in *Scotland* did take cognizance of any ſuch matters to the uttermoſt of my beſt knowledge, is an Epiſcopall, that is a maniſeſt and malicious untruth.

Page 9, 10. The Presbyterics meddle not with matters of trade or debt.

The ſame I ſay of your next ſtory; the Munday markets in ſome chiefe Towns were an evident occaſion of prophaning the Lords holy Sabbath; this to all the godly was a matter of griefe; both particular perſons, and whole Presbyteries have oft regrated it, and offered their Petitions to the Counceland Parliament for the remedying thereof; but that they ever of themſelves did attempt to make any change of Market dayes, it is ſo falſe as any thing can be; you our Prelates as you were taught by your Fathers in *England* were alwaies paſſionately deſirous to have Sunday counted no Sabbath, both by your doctrine and example, you laboured to ſeduce the people to prophane that day with all kinde of publike paſtimes, all ſtrictneſſe about the Sabbath you cryed downe, as Puritanick *Iudaiſme*, ſo long as your

They never took upon them to change a Market day.

Kingdome ſtood, this evill was remedileſſe; but ſo ſoon as we got your chaires and thrones as you call them overturned, the firſt Generall Aſſembly thereafter made it one of their chiefe cares to cauſe draw a humble petition to the next enſuing Parliament for tranſlating of the Markets of the cheiſe Burroughs from *Munday* to *Wedneſday*: The Parliament being purged of Epiſcopall, Popiſh and Malignant Members, who oft before had obſtructed this gracious worke, unanimouſly did agree to the Petition; ſo that now, bleſſed be God, with the good liking of all, and to the prejudice of none, theſe market dayes are changed.

Nor to tranſport Miniſters at any mans pleaſure.

What follows of the Presbyteries violent tranſporting of Miniſters from better places to worſe at the pleaſure of Noblemen, I have known this done by Biſhops and their High Commiſſion, (for no men ever in *Scotland* did ſo much flatter the Nobles and aſſiſt them, if they were reſolved to oppreſſe a Miniſter, as the Prelates) but while the Presbyteriall government had any vigour, that every man was in this faſhion tranſported, I take it to be exceeding falſe; for by the Laws and practiſe of the Presbytery, diſgraceſull Tranſportations are of ſo great difficulty, that ſince the Biſhops were caſt out from among us, I did never hear of any; for no man with us can be put from a better place to a worſe but for a fault, which as it puts him from one place, ſo readily it will keep him from all others.

They never did dilapidate any benefice.

The knaviſh example he brings of this practiſe in the Presbytery of *Couper*, I take it to be a meer Epiſcopall invention, no man with whom I have conferred ever heard of any ſuch matter; *Spotswood* the fountaine of his fables is here mute, I am confirmed in this opinion by that which he makes the maine ſcope of the tale, the Presbyteries conſent to the dilapidation of a Perſonage; ſuch an action is ſo farre contrary to the rules of all our Presbyteries, and to any practiſe that ever I heard, that it makes me take all the reſt but for a tale of *Robin Hood*. The Biſhops indeed when they profeſſed their greateſt zeale to recover all the Church rents out of the hand of the Laity, were found to be but too ready to dilapidate unto Noblemen and others too much of the remnant of the Churches patrimony; your ſelfe may remember what bargaine you made as I thinke with the Earle of *Seaforth*, which you know was the firſt occaſion

caſion of diminiſhing your reputation with your great Patron *Laud* of *Canterbury*: I am ſure yonr Colleague *Spotſwood* did ſell the whole Abacy of *Killwinning* to the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Cuningham*, to the great prejudice and grieſe of the Univerſity of *Glaſgow*, and the Miniſters of the bounds who had great intereſt therein.

At the Parliament of *Lithgow* 1606. our good Biſhops for their owne baſe ends did conſent in the name of the Church, though they had never ſo much as conſulted here in that buſineſſe, to the greateſt dilapidation that ever was heard of in *Scotland*, the impropriation to Noblemen and Gentlemen at one time, of no fewer then ſixteen Abbacies, every one whereof had incorporate the rents of a number of Pariſh Churches. Too many pranks of this kinde have been plaid by the Prelates and Clergy men of their way, but that ever any Presbytery was guilty of ſuch ſacrilegious tricks, it will never as I imagine be proved.

What you ſpeake of a Gentlemans confeſſion in Teſtament of his grieſe, for deceiving good Miniſters, is to no purpoſe; did not Hypocrites deceive the Apoſtles? but that Miniſters did keep him from Church cenſures for his knowne uncleanneſſe, you know there is no reaſon to beleeve you upon your bare word; the Gentlemans hypocriſie was but ſmall, if his villanies were ſo open that juſtly he could be challenged for them. Page 12. Nor favour Gentlemen in their wickedneſſe.

For your laſt imputation I know that feuds in *Scotland* were frequent and lamentable; alſo that King *Iames* labours in ſuppreſſing them were happy and ſucceſſefull; but that any Presbytery did ever entertain them, its a lye ſo groſſe that for all your Cretian Art, you are not able to bring ſo much as the colour of on inſtance to prove it. I finde in *Spotswood*, Letters of King *Iames* to Presbyteries and Synods for their aſſiſtance in that gracious work; and it is certaine that all the Kings in Chriſtendome had never been able to have aboliſhed theſe feuds without the helpe of the Miniſtry. Can you tell me of any Biſhop that either did endeavour or had ſuch power in the heart of any people, as to promove that work one haires breadth? I know that the chiefe Biſhops for all their open fauning, were yet ever eſteemed ſo great haters of the Nobility and prime Gentry, that they did little regard how many of them peri- They never did countenance any feud; all theſe were the Prelates crimes.

ſhed; your ſelfe I think knowes that in the feud betwixt the *Grahams* and the *Sandilands*, none was a better ſwordman, then your Metropolitan *Spotswood*.

Your laſt Paragraph is but a recapitulation of theſe things which I hope I have demonſtrate to be cleer untruths.

Page 13. Prelaticall principles take away the very being of Elderſhips and Aſſemblies.

Your next head is of Provinciall Synods; upon theſe you are brieſe, and yet might have ſpared much of that you bring; for the moſt hath no more relation to Provinciall Synods, then to any other Church meeting. In the beginning you make the Provinciall Synod to be an apiſh imitation of an ancient Provinciall Councell, conſiſting of the Metropolitan and his ſuffragane Biſhops, intimating hereby what elſewhere you have publiſhed, and in your declinator of the Aſſembly at *Glaſgow* ſubſcribed, That the very conſtitution of all our *Synods* is vitious, as conſiſting of Members whom reaſon and Antiquity does exclude; all Iuriſdiction belongs to Biſhops, a preaching Presbyter has no more to do with it then a ruling Presbyter, without an Epiſcopall commiſſion; by vertue hereof a man of any coat, may ſit and voice in a Synod; without this none but Biſhops themſelves may have place there.

Presbytetians would not uſe tricks to corrupt the Aſſembly; therefore Biſhops were ſet up to doe.

That which you make the politick ſtratagem of the *Gamaliels* as you call them of our Land, is nothing but that which in all ſocieties Eccleſiaſtick and civill, nature makes neceſſary: in every multitude ſome men by their gifts and diligence will fall to be leading; but that the moſt leading men among us, had ever any authority to command the weakeſt of their Brethren, you dare not alledge it, though every Prelate by vertue of his office pretend to a power of commanding all his Clergy. That the moſt eminent men among us could ever carry an Aſſembly after them, farther then their reaſon did perſwade the minds of their Brethren, it is very untrue.

How little able Noblemen have been to ſway the Votes of a Synod to their owne deſires, you and your Brethren know as well as any others: for the difficulty and impoſſibility of this practiſe was the maine ground whereupon your Antichriſtian order behoved to be brought back again from *Rome* to *Scotland*: When King *Iames* by many experiments, had found that neither himſelfe nor all the Noblemen of the Land were able either by Art, or allurements, or terrors to ſway the Aſſemblies

of

of the Church to their owne appetites, the resolution was taken to destroy these meetings, to overturne their orders, to spoile them of their power, to put all in the hand of Bishops upon this confidence, wherein they were not deceived, that although they had found it impossible to make the multitude of the Ministers so long as their Assemblies injoyed their old and just priviledges, obsequious to the will of the Court; Yet if once that order of Synods were overturned, and their power setled in the Bishops hands, it would be an easie matter to make the whole Clergy very tractable and obnoxious. What therefore here you object of the Synods serving the lusts of great men, was neither true nor possible, so long as the Presbyteriall government stood intire; but so soon as that was overthrowne and changed into Episcopacy, that game was gained. We never knew any Bishop oppose himself in any thing to the Court, nor to the desires of any Nobleman how unreasonable so ever, if the Court was for him.

What here you subjoyn of the great honour deferred to some of the Ministry, however your exaggerations be invidious and Satyricall, yet we are not ashamed to professe that no where in the World, the Nobility and Gentry carry greater respect to Ministers then in *Scotland*. The Bishops did much envy this; for how ever the King and Courtiers did countenance them, yet the whole Country where ever they went, did justly despise them: but the Ministers, those especially who with any zeale did oppose their evill courses, were alwayes by the greatest of the Land before their faces highly honoured. It is true, Ministers of the Episcopall cut were no more prized then their Masters; but this I may affirme that the pooreſt and weakeſt Minister of what ever side, was ever more honoured by the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* then by the best of the Bishops, even those who made it their glory to be the Patrons of poor Ministers against the Nobilities oppression. Though our Scottish Bishops were not come to the height of the English Prelates grandour; and the pooreſt of the *Scots* Ministers that ever I knew, were of a much better fashion then many hundreds of the English Curates and Priests; yet I have often seen the meaneſt of the Scottish preachers get more respect from the prime *Earles* of that Land, then the chiefe and best deserving

Page 14. Ministers generally were ever and still are more honoured in *Scotland* then any where else.

ſerving Miniſters could have from their ordinary Biſhops, either within their private walls or in the face of their Provinciall meetings. So what you object of the contempt of the Miniſters in *Scotland*, if it be underſtood from their Brethren or from the Nobility or Gentry, it is very falſe; but if from you and your Colleagues it was too too viſible.

P. 15, 16, 17. Mr. *Robert Bruce* vindicated.

Your next Storie concernes Mr. *Robert Bruce* Miniſter of *Edinburgh*, a gracious and Heroick Divine as *Scotland* ever bred. Though the quarrell of Epiſcopacy did at laſt alter King *Iames* countenance towards him, yet all the Biſhops of the three Kingdomes had never ſo much reſpect from that Prince as this man. What you ſpeak of his great attendance, is either a very ignorant, or a very malicious miſtake; neither he nor any Miniſter of *Scotland*, though nobly borne and of good Eſtates, uſed ever to be attended by any more ſervants then one at moſt, but in their journeying to Presbyteries, Synods or Viſitations, the Noblemen and Gentlemen members of theſe meetings, were alwaies glad of the Miniſters company, and when their way fell to be one, they were wont to travell together; doth it from hence follow, that the Noblemen and all the Gentlemen of their Traine, were the Miniſters attendants?

The long relation you make of King *Iames* conference with Mr. *Bruce* anent the Earle of *Huntly*, you take it out of the ſtory of *Spotswood*, who at firſt was a domeſtick ſervant, but thereafter a great unfriend to Mr. *Bruce*; The tale of your Author you doe much enlarge, and adde unto it many circumſtances whereof you have no warrant; the matter as I gather it, out of your owne Author was thus. The Earle of *Huntly* all his life time was the head of the Popiſh faction in *Scotland*, he was oft excommunicate, and oft he gave ſatisfaction to the Church, abjuring his Popery, and joyning to our Church, but alwaies he plaid the Hypocrite or Apoſtate; when the Catholique league was firſt framed in *France*, betwixt the Pope, King *Philip* of *Spaine* and the *Guizians* for the rooting out of all *Proteſtants*, this man made himſelfe quickly of that party: When in the eighty eight the Spaniſh Armada came to conquer this whole Iſle, no man was ſo ready as he with his whole ſtrength to have joyned with them, when after the miſcarriage of that Navy, the enterpriſe was renued, divers times he ſent his Meſſen-

gers

gers to the Prince of *Parme* at *Brussels*, and to *Philip* at *Madrid*, assuring his readinesse to concurre for the destruction of Queene *Elizabeth* and all the Protestants in the Isle; though all these horrible Treasons were proved under his owne hand, and acknowledged, and all were pardoned, yet nothing could amend his evill nature, he was still found plotting the delivery of the Isle, into the Spaniards hands; and when all hope of forraigne invasion was past, yet he could not give over, but was proved to have new plots upon the Kings person, for making of him prisoner, and killing before his face Chancellor *Maitland*, his prime and best Counsellour: This also was pardoned, notwithstanding he remained the same man, and quickly thereafter in the sight of the Court, and all the Town of *Edinburgh*, he burnt the Earle of *Murrays* house above his head, (*Murray* was a prime Noble man of the Land, the Kings neer Kinsman, the heire of the good Regent, the best Governour that any King of *Scotland* did ever injoy) this man did *Huntly* kill without any cause at all, but his owne meere envy and malice; for these crimes he was againe excommunicate; the Earle of *Argile* at the Kings intreaty and direction persued him with an Army of ten thousand men; many hundreds of these good subjects were killed by that Rebell, when after *Argiles* defeat, the King himselfe with his prime Nobles went out against him, he with displayed banner went to the fields against the King; all this *Spotswood* reports at length. Let any conscientious man here be judge, King *James* for his owne respects requires a conscientious Minister to consent and concurre with him, to obtain from the next ensuing Assembly, the absolution of such a man from the censure of Excommunication, for this was the main question; the honest Minister could not be perswaded to consent unto the relaxation of such a bloody obstinate Apostate, confessed by all to be still impenitent, from the censures either of Church or State: As for the inconveniences, his Majesty did alledge the dangers from the Papists of *England*, if *Huntly* and the Popish party in *Scotland* were too much irritate; was it any great crime for Mr. *Bruce* to differ in this from his Majesty, and to tell him plainly that which was the opinion of all the good Ministers of *Scotland*, though the ground of the Kings quarrell with them, That it would prove his best policy to make fast

with

with the Proteſtant party of *England* and over-ſea, renouncing all correſpondency either with Papiſts or Prelates, that if he walked upon this ground, God and his right would carry him through all, both ſeen and imagined difficulties? The world long agoe is ſatisfied with the wiſedome of this advice; for it was quickly found that too much connivence and compliance with Papiſts, did bring that Prince upon the very brinke of ruine; for the Popiſh party of *England* finding themſelves diſappointed of their great hopes did run to the deſperate attempts of the Powder-plot and other Treaſons: Alſo the keeping up of the Biſhops was a great cauſe of all the miſchiefes which ſince that time to this day have fallen either upon our Church or State; It is true, the words you aſcribe to Mr. *Bruce* are very unmannerly; but who will beleeve that ever any ſuch phraſes proceeded from the mouth of ſo grave and wiſe a man? your only Author is *Spotſwood*, His teſtimony in this caſe ought not to be truſted; but if you will looke to the matter of Mr. *Bruce* his counſell, I ſubject it to the touchſtone of the ſevereſt cenſurers.

Page 18, 19, 20, 21. The reaſon of the Authors malice againſt the generall Aſſembly.

Upon the fourth head of Generall Aſſemblies, you ſpew out the whole remnant of your gall; the wrath of a child does kindle againſt the whip that ſcourges him; I will not remember you of the dogs ſnarling at the ſtone that hath hit him: The Generall Aſſembly for juſt cauſes did chaſtiſe you with their ſharpeſt rod of Excommunication, they did deliver you into the hands of the Father of lyes and Blaſphemies; if there were no more then what here you write, it is a demonſtration that the ſentence of that Reverend Aſſembly againſt you is ratified in heaven, and that God in his juſtice according to the word of his faithfull ſervant, hath delivered your obſtinate ſoule to be acted by that evill ſpirit? who elſe could move you to blaſpheme the crowne of Chriſt, and the holy One of *Iſrael* by name, and to make the holy Scriptures the ordinary channell through which your profane girds at the Generall Aſſembly muſt run: What you bring, the moſt of it is ſo impertinent, and ſo remote from all relation to any Aſſembly, and ſet downe in ſuch confuſion, that the very effects, though the cauſe were not knowne, may evidence the diſtraction of your Spirit. I ſhall handle the fiery-eſt of your darts as they come from your furious hands.

You

You make us to aſcribe to our General Aſſembly, a juriſdiction univerſall and infallible, you will have it to meddle with all affaires both Spirituall and Temporall, you would make the world beleeve that all diſobedience thereto is cenſured with excommunication, and that it commands the King to puniſh in eſtate, body and life all who diſobey; otherwiſe that it cauſes the King himſelfe to be dethroned and killed, this often you repeat; moreover you call this Aſſembly an untamed furious Beaſt, you adviſe the King much rather to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope then to be in the reverence therof; what ſpirit makes you break out into ſuch diſcourſes, your ſelfe will ſee, if ever God give you repentance; however it is evident, that lyes and malice do here ſtrive which ſhall predominate.

False and rayling ſlanders againſt the generall Aſſembly.

The Generall Aſſembly in *Scotland* hath no more power then what the Parliaments ſince the firſt Reformation have heartily allowed unto them, they meddle with no temporall eaſe at all; and all the ſpirituall caſes which to this day they have touched, may be reduced to a few heads: That every diſobedience brings with it Excommunication, is a wide ſlander, we doe not excommunicate but for a grievous tranſgreſſion joyned with extraordinary obſtinacy; This cenſure is ſo rare with us, that a man may live long, and before his death never be witneſſe to it. What civil puniſhment the State in their wiſedome findes meet to impoſe on a perſon who contemnes the Ordinances of God, let themſelves be anſwerable: But that the Aſſembly medles with any mans life or goods, is like the reſt of your Aſſertions, and yet no more falſe then the other lye you have here. That ever any Aſſembly of the reformed Churches upon the higheſt provocations did take it ſo much as in debate to excommunicate, much leſſe to dethrone any King, its moſt falſe; but the Spirit that leads you muſt be permitted to breath out his naturall aire, and to lye according to his very ancient cuſtome.

It exerciſes no power but what the King and the Laws authorize.

You object it once and againe that the Commiſſioners of Burroughs and Univerſities are received as Members in our generall Aſſemblies; behold the greatneſſe of this crime, out of every Claſſicall Presbytery we allow one ruling Elder, to goe as Commiſſioner to that Nationall meeting, and if there be a royall Burgh within the bounds, we allow two, and three if there be an Univerſity: What would you ſay to the Parliament of

The Commiſſioners of Burroughs and Univerſities are all Elders.

England who appoints foure ruling Elders out of every Claſſis, to accompany two Miniſters to the Aſſembly, though there be neither Burrough not Univerſity in the bounds? of this we are carefull, that whoever comes either from Cities or Univerſities, be not only ruling Elders, but alſo have an expreſſe approbation from the Elderſhip.

We aſcribe to the King ſo much power in the Aſſemblies as the Lawes allow, albeit not ſuch a Tyranny as Prelats would flatter him into.

What you ſpeak of the Kings preſence in our Aſſemblies: it is true, it was ever our wiſh, and oft our happineſſe to have the King or his Commiſſioner amongſt us at theſe meetings, we never did diſpute their capacity; no more was craved then the place of a civil Preſident, and this no man did ever deny either to him or them, nor a power to propound what ever they thought expedient; but ſome of your flattering Prelates doe aſcribe to the Prince a power which neither we nor our Laws may owne. You give him a power to call ſo many as he will, without all Commiſſion from any Church, to voice in all Aſſemblies, and by the multitude of their voices to carry all: You give him alſo a power to hinder the Aſſembly to debate any matter which he miſlikes, were it never ſo neceſſary for the very being of the Church: You give him a Negative Vote to ſtop any concluſion, were it never ſo conſonant to the Word of God; yea, an affirmative Vote to carry all things in the Aſſembly, abſolutely according to his owne minde, The Aſſembly being but his Arbitrary Court in things ſpirituall, by whoſe advice the Prince who is the ſupream judge in all cauſes does determine as he findes it expedient; ſometimes according, ſometimes contrary to their judgement. Such a power, no ordinary either *Eraſtian* or *Prelate* will willingly grant to any Prince upon earth; but this was one of the late *Canterburian* extravagancies, wherein your ſingular zeale did much help you to your Biſhoprick.

What you adde of our preſſing the King to execute all our Acts under the paine of Excommunication, we have oft told you it is a great untruth; for all *Scotland* knowes that the furtheſt we went ever with any Prince in our Aſſembly Acts, was, humbly to ſupplicate for their civill Sanction; if we obtain it, we bleſſe God and them; if we cannot by any prayers perſwade, we ſit down in griefe and wait patiently upon their good pleaſure.

Our taking in of all things temporall upon ſome ſpirituall relation

relation, and forcing the King to change his Laws though never so prejudiciall to the State, your report in this will be beleeved, when you have gotten grace to forsake in some measure the Spirit that now leads you. The matter here you aime at, but keeps it in the clouds, is the proceeding of the Assembly at *Glasgow* against your offices and persons. According to the Lawes of Popish times, The Bishops were Lords of Parliament, of Councell, of Exchequer, of Session: The Assembly did finde all this contrary to the Word of God, and therefore did discharge under the paine of the censures of the Church, any Minister of the Word, to take upon him these civill imployments; I hope the hindering of persons meerly Ecclesiastick to drowne themselves in a sea of temporall affaires, is not to take cognisance of all things temporall, *in ordine ad spiritualia.* The Assembly did supplicate the King and Parliament for the abolition of the Popish and corrupt Lawes which did countenance the ambition of the Clergy; the Parliament finding the Assemblies supplication just, joyned with them to deale with the King to passe it, his Majesty for a time misled by the flattery of Prelates refused; but at last seeing the earnestnesse and cleer equity of the Assembly and Parliament their desires, he was perswaded to consent to these Acts, wherein all Churchmen are forbidden to take upon them civill places. This is it that you call the forcing of the King and Parliament to change the Laws for the great trouble of the State; this is all the Assemblies tyranizing over the King and Parliament, a meer supplication to alter Popish and corrupt Lawes, which both the King and the State, after a little debate did finde necessary to be done.

The Assembly alters no Laws, but only supplicates the King and Parliament to alter such Laws as confirm evident errors.

To the absurdities which you call monstrously grosse, *p.* 21, 22. we have spoken already, you are impatient that any ruling Elder, that any Commissioner from Burroughs or Universities should voice in Church Assemblies; your expresse reason is because *concilium est Episcoporum*; see the mans absurdity, no Minister more then a ruling Elder must voice at any Assembly; the decisive voice there belongs only to Bishops; yet any Lay men vested with the Bishops commission, may very lawfully exercise all Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction over the whole Clergy of the Diocesse; neither is there any Gentleman of the Shire, nor any Burgesse of the City, nor any Student in the Universitty to

Your oft repeated quarrell against ruling Elders is absurd.

whom a Prelate can purchaſe a Letter from the King, but he may ſit and voice deciſively in all ſpirituall cauſes as a conſtituent Member of the Generall Aſſembly as well as the Biſhop himſelf; this is the doctrine and was the practiſe of our Prelates in *Scotland*.

Page 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. The Aſsembly and Parliament with us, uſe not to differ.

You are angry *p.* 22. that the acts of our Aſſemblies ſhould get ſo ready obedience, but the matters themſelves are ſo clear, that none uſes to refuſe them, and it is the Law of the kingdome that the Aſſemblies determination in matters proper to its cogniſance ſhould be obeyed; if any thing new be acted, which requires a civill ſanction, the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly ſupplicate the next enſuing Parliament for their ratification, which for common is eaſily obtained, the cleer equity of the matter purchaſes a ready grant. If there happen to be cauſe why the Parliament ſhould not be ſatisfied, the Aſſembly by their reaſons is perſwaded to be of the Parliaments minde; no ſuch unanimous Courts in the Univerſe, as the Parliament and Generall Aſſembly of *Scotland*, they never had any difference, but what bad Courtiers and Prelates procured for their owne intereſts: put theſe peſts of the Church and State to a corner, the King, Parliament and Aſſembly ſhall never differ, but alwayes concurre for the ſtrengthening and comforting one another.

Your invectives againſt our firſt Reformation are wicked.

From your 22. *page* to 31. you heap together what ever extream malice can invent, to bring diſgrace upon the firſt and cheiſe reformers of Religion from Popery; you openly avow your diſlike of the firſt Reformation in *Scotland*, you are not aſhamed to proclaim all the Reformation both of *Scotland*, *France*, *Holland*, and *Germany*, and whereſoever the work was not done by the hand of the Soveraign Prince, to have been Sedition and Rebellion.

The Vindication of *Iohn Knox*, and the firſt Reformers of *Scotland*, from baſe calumnies.

The firſt thing you undertake to prove, is, That we give our Aſſemblies power to depoſe and kill Kings; for this you alledge *Martin mar Prelate*, whoyet ſays no ſuch thing, and though he did what is that to us? then you cite a number of paſſages out of *Iohn Knox* his writings; but is it juſt that *Iohn Knox* Aſſertions, long before any Aſſemblies were in *Scotland*, ſhould be laid to their charge? But what may thoſe abſurd aſſerions of *Iohn Knox* be? he ſayes as you alledge, that the Nobility of *Scotland* who are borne Counſellours of the Kingdom, and by the Laws have

have great priviledges may repreſſe the fury and madneſſe of a miſled Prince; I grant this to you muſt be a great Hereſie who makes it one of the Articles of your faith, that though Princes were as mad as ever *Nero*, and ſhould openly avow their deſires to overturn all the ſworn Lawes of their State, and to kill without any cauſe all their Subjects, yet for the Nobility or whole States of Parliament to make the ſmalleſt oppoſition or to goe one haires breadth beyond a naked ſupplication were no leſſe then a damnable Rebellion and Treaſon; but beleeve it, the ſubjects of *Scotland* will not take off your hand ſuch maximes, without ſome Argument for their truth.

John Knox is alledged to ſay that the Commonalty may bridle the cruell beaſts and reforme Religion, but what does it concerne the generall Aſſembly whatever power the Lords or Commons have by the Law, or uſurpe againſt the Law? The matter whereof *John Knox* is ſpeaking is this, The body of *Scotland* in the yeare 1557. were true and zealous Proteſtants, the Maſſe and Images were to them Idols: long before the governour and protector of the Kingdom Duke *Hamilton* was for the Religion, At his firſt Parliament he did authorize ſome good beginnings of Reformation, the Cardinall and Clergy at this grew mad, and found means to tranſlate the government from the Duke to the Queens Mother, ſiſter to the Duke of *Guize*, and Cardinall of *Lorain*; in the time both of the Duke and Queen Mothers Regency, the cruelty of the Biſhops was unſufferable. They took divers of the moſt zealous Preachers and Profeſſors, men and women, and publikely without any Commiſſion from the Magiſtrate, onely for their zeale to the truth of God, did burne them quick as Hereticks: After many yeers patience, the people at laſt ſeeing no end of the Prelates fury, did cauſe write Letters to ſome of their moſt wicked perſecutors, telling them that if they gave not over to murther their Brethren, themſelves ſhould taſte of that Cup, of which they forced others to drink. All the Reformation which the people at that time practiſed, was to keep themſelves pure from moſt vile Idolatry, and in private to heare the Word of God purely preached: They made no publike Reformation till firſt they had openly ſupplicated the Queen and gotten her allowance, and a promiſe of an Act of Parliament in the yeare 1558. which

promiſe when the Proteſtant Nobility, Gentry and Commons did preſſe in face of Parliament, it was not denyed by the Queen, but cunningly put off, upon aſſurance that all their deſires at the firſt conveniency ſhould be granted: in the meane time ſhe received their Proteſtation for a Liberty to live in their reformed Churches ſeparate from Popiſh Idolaters, and promiſed in due time to give to the Proteſters full ſatisfaction. Though you have brought together all the malicious aſperſions which your predeceſſors the Popiſh Prelates and Prieſts were wont at theſe very times to heap upon the heads of our bleſſed Reformers; yet ſhall you never be able to leave any ſtain upon that happy work, though here and elſewhere you ſpue out your diſpight againſt it.

The Reformation of *Scotland* was begun by publique Authority in the firſt Parliament of Queen *Mary*, the yeare 1542. holden by the Governour the Earle of *Arran* a Proteſtant for the time; the ſetting up of it in publique was avowed, and proteſted for in face of Parliament 1558. with the Queen Regents evident allowance, and without the oppoſition of any; bnt in the next Parliament 1560. the whole Eſtates without the contradiction of any, but three Popiſh Lords, did ſet up by Law the whole body of that Religion, which ſince by Gods mercy we have ever peaceably poſſeſſed, except ſo farre as wicked Prelates have troubled us.

The ſuſpenſion of the Queene Regents authority was an act of the State which did nothing prejudice the Soveraignty.

It is true, that Queen Regent notwithſtanding of her good countenance and faire promiſes, was forced by the privy Inſtructions of her wicked Brethren, *Guize* and the Cardinall of *Loraine*, to oppoſe Reformation; wherein ſore againſt her own minde, as at her death ſhee profeſſed, ſhee went ſo farre as to bring in many thouſands of the *French* to conquer and ſubdue the Land. They began to the terror of the whole Iſle, to fortifie *Leith*, and other Maritime places; they exerciſed an evident tyranny both in Church and State, and overthrew the Laws and liberties of the Nation, which forced the cheiſe of the Nobility for the caſting off of this yoak of ſlavery from the Church and State, and preventing the danger which threatned the whole Iſle to enter in a covenant of defence both among themſelvs and with the Queen of *England*, but without the leaſt prejudice to the juſt authority of their Soveraign then Queen of *France*, as it after appeared: for when by the bleſſing of God and the helpe

of

of the *English*, they had ejected the French usurpers, they did heartily receive and obey the Queen so soon as she came from *France*. For the justification of all this I could bring formall testimonies out of *Spotswood* himself.

What you say of the deposition of Queen Regent from her Authority, it is false that any Church Assembly did ever meddle with it lesse or more; it was the Act of the three Estates; how just let any judge. She was the first woman as I remember that ever in *Britain* had the government of the State; it belonged not to her by any right, the Lawes provided that charge for Duke *Hamilton*; but she and the Prelates couzend him out of his right and long possession; she became not only a violent persecuter of all the faithful against the Law and her own promises, but also went about evidently by violence and force of Arms to subdue the land to the tyranny of strangers: much of this shee did, albeit at the direction of her Brethren of *Loraine*, yet without all commission from our Soveraigne her daughter. When no supplication nor remonstrance could stop her, the Estates of the Land being all denounced Rebels, and Traitors by her, did passe an Act not for depriving her of her Regency, but for the suspending of her Authority till the next Parliament; or till shee altered the course of her tyrannous government with an expresse protestation that the authority and power of the King and Queen of *France* their Soveraignes should remain to them sacred and inviolable.

This act of the State whether right or wrong, what does it concerne the generall Assembly of the Church? be it so that a Minister or two being called for advice, did give their assent to this action which is the furtheſt our Enemies alledge, yet what hath this to doe with our Church government? it seems the conscience of the Queen did approve of this sentence against her; for she did much repent of all those actions which did procure it, as she did evidence in that conference which a little before her death she required and did obtain with the prime Protestant Nobles, and the Minister Mr. *Willocks*, whose hand in her suspension was alledged to be chiefe.

That abominable calumny which continually you fall upon, as if our doctrine did tend to the killing of Kings, demonstrates the superfluity of your naughty malice, whereby your fellowes and

The Presbyterians have often supported but never hurt royalty.

and you above any one, were wont to poiſon the eares and heart of the King, while you were about him, till at laſt you did precipitate him in theſe dangers that very readily might have taken away from him both his life and his crowne. I deſire to know of you who charges us with this abominable crime of deſtroying Kings who were the men that ſaved the life and authority of King *Iames* ſo long as he was in *Scotland*? and who be theſe who have preſerved King *Charles* from utter ruine, wherein your wicked companions and your ſelfe with the firſt, by your pernicious wayes did caſt him, and would hold him ſtill therein, if you might be heard? Did either of theſe Kings in the daies of their danger have their recourſe to any but to Presbyterians, or was any other party either able or willing to preſerve them?

Knox did never preach for the pulling down of any Church.

What you ſpeak of Mr. *Knox* preaching for the pulling down of Churches, is like the reſt of your lies, he did indeed oft-times preach downe the worſhiping of Images, and the idle bellies of the prophane Monks: one day after his Sermon the people in *Perth* being ſtirred by the injurious violence of an idolatrous Prieſt, did pull downe the Images which daily were worſhipped, and from that action did run to the caſting down of two or three dens of Friers, which your Orthodox pen ſtiles religious houſes; but that Mr. *Knox* or any Preacher was the Author of theſe actions, it is ſo falſe that the day thereafter when the Biſhop of *Murrays* ſon by his miſchievous inſolency had provoked the people againſt the Monaſtery of *Scoon*, *John Knox* in perſon with all the Nobility he could perſwade went out to ſave thoſe irreligious walls to his power from all violence. Some few Monatteries and two or three Cathedrall Churches, were caſt down by the idle provocations of ſome Popiſh Prieſts, who were ſo mad upon their Idolatry that they would keep theſe places to be Caſtles and forts to preſerve and propagate their abominations; But quickly that fury of the Prieſts was gotten ſuppreſt and the Churches peaceably purged, ſo that I have not heard that in all our Land, above three or foure Churches were caſt down.

Page 17, 18.

I ſhould be very tedious if I went through all the odious narrations of this enraged Prelate; I muſt touch but upon ſome of his principall paſſages: in his 27. page, he makes the Reformers to diſclaime Soveraign Authority, to denounce warre, to enter in to a covenant for mutuall defence, to command the Nobility to

joyne

joyne with them under the paine of excommunication, &c. A waſpe out of the ſweeteſt hearbs ſucks venom, the matter as all our Hiſtorians relate, was this.

When Queen Regent was marching with the French Army to *Perth*, to kill as ſhee had openly vowed, men, women and children; to raze unto the ground that antient City and to ſow it with ſalt, only for the pulling down of ſome images and ſome Monkes dens: the Nobillity did meet to ſtop that Horrible rage, they did deprecate violence with humble ſupplications, and when theſe were in vaine, they ſtood upon their defence againſt the French Bands: this is that which you call the diſclaiming of Soveraignty. They write a threatning Letter to the Biſhops and Prieſts, the great Incendiaries of the time, to kindle the Queenes wrath againſt her beſt Subjects: this you call denouncing of Warre. Some members of their owne Congregation did come with the Queen againſt them, namely the Earles of *Argyle* and *Murrey*, Them they intreated not to ſhed their Brethrens blood, otherwiſe they ſhewed them their deſerving to be excommunicate out of that ſociety, which without cauſe they did perſecute; The ſeaſonablenes of this reproofe did quickly appeare, both the Noblemen beholding the Loyalty of their Brethren and their unjuſt oppreſſion by others, did leave the Queene and joyne with the Proteſtant party. A demonſtration of their Loyalty was given to the world at that very inſtant, when they came to ſuch ſtrength that the French and the Prelates and all their oppoſits, could ſcarce have been a Breackfaſt to them, they were content to let them all goe in peace and upon the Queenes word did diſſolve their Army, only ſuſpecting, which did fall out, that no promiſes would be made conſcience of to Hereticks. before they disbanded they gave aſſurances of mutuall defence, if by their Treacherous enemies, contrary to promiſes they ſhould againe for their Religion be invaded: was ſuch a Covenant any more then nature requires of every ſociety of men for their own neceſſary preſervation. As for your invectives againſt the firſt reformation and that which you profeſſe is the cauſe of your anger, the removall of the beauty and order of the

The Armes of Scotland againſt the Tiranny of the French were neceſſary and juſt.

The author very wicked and Popiſh.

the Church, that is the putting away of the masse with all its ornaments, the removall of the Pope, Cardinalls, Bishops, the Monks and Friers, for all this you must be dispenced with: for herein you but follow your Canterburian principles. Yet I cannot but marvell that your passion towards these trinckets of Popery should be so great, as to make you affirme that all our present troubles are, but Gods judgements upon us for their removeall, and to propheſie that those evils cannot end, except we returne to that vomit: our condition is hard if we must redeem peace with the reimbracing of the Masse Booke and all its ornaments, if for the right ordering of our Church, wee must take backe our Bishops, Patriarchs, Cardinalls, and Popes (for non of all these you doe scruple) if all our Abacies and Nunneries must again be peopled, and which is worst of all, if we must resolve never more to permit the whole estates of a land or a Parliament to oppose a Prince when seduced by a popish Prelate or a Turkish darvisch, he takes a conceit to set up the whole body of popery or of Mahometisme in all his Dominions: this is the divinity which your piety and orthodoxie here insinuates.

P. 29. 30. Your long discourse of the Generall Assemblies Soveraignty above the King is closed with two other stories, the killing of Cardinall *Beton*, and the tumult in the Church of *Edinburrough* at the reading of the Liturgie. What belongs these things to the Generall Assembly, were these actions either decreed or allowed by any Church meeting; but the truth is, you are gathering togither a confused masse of all the odious fables which you can either find or invent to the prejudice of Protestant Religion since it came first in *Scotland* to this day.

Cardinall *Beton* by all Law and reason deserved death, yet *Knox* did not defend the way of his slaughter.

As for the Cardinalls slaughter, all good men who heard it did heartily rejoyce at the judgement of God in taking away that cruell persecuter, a most vicious wretch: as *Spotswood* himselfe relates the story, his crimes were many for which his life by all Law and reason was forfeit: the suborning of a false Testament to King *James* the fifth, for his owne advancement, the burning quick by his owne Ecclesiastick authority the most holy Martyrs, the marring with

all

all his might the Reformation of Religion: that such a man was removed in the indignation of God, according to Mr. *Wisheard* the martyrs prophesie, the whole Land did greatly rejoyce. As for the manner of his slaughter, that it was by the hands of privat men and not of the publick executioner, this no man did defend: of Mr. *Knox* disallowing thereof, *Spotswood* testifies expresly: but that which troubles you, is not the killing of a man, but as you speake, of a Preist, of an Arch-Bishop of high dignity, that is a Cardinall of *Rome*, these circumstances are but poore agravations of that fact.

The other horrible fact at *Edinburgh*, how detestable it was, Let all the Isle judge. When a company of base men were come to that height of insolency, as to tread on the necks of the whole Kingdome, as to make it an Act of high treason for the greatest of the Nobility to keep, albeit very secretly in their Cabins, a Copy of a Petition presented to his Majesty in person, against some new illegall usurpations of the Prelats: to get Noblemen condemned to lose their heads only for this action, and to avow in print the great Justice of such a sentence, and the extraordinary favour in pardoning so high and treasonable an attempt: When they became so extreamly malapert, without so much as once acquainting the Church, to bring in three or foure whole books full of Novations in Religion, and withal to proclaime the absolute unlawfulnesse for the whole Land to make the smallest opposition if to morrow they should bring in, upon the back of their former Novations, the Masse in Latine, or the Alcoran in Arabick; when they came with a high hand to put in practice this their lawlesse Tyrannie, that good zealous people (whom you maliciously and falsly stile whoores and coale stealers) should have their patience so far tempted, as to break out in violence against you was it any wonder? when atrocious injuries are multiplyed upon a Nation, and by a few openly vicious and corrupt persons, the current of Justice is stopped, all the world will not be able to hold the passions of a people not totally subdued, from breaking out into unjustifiable insolencies, which a little Justice might easily have prevented. What ever wrong

P. 31. An account of the tumult at *Edinburgh* for the Service-booke.

Vide the large Declaration.

might accompany the zeale of that very good people, the reverend Answerers to the corrupt Doctors of *Aberdeen* doe openly disavow it, and all of us were ever very well content, that the whole action of that famous infamous day might have come to a perfect tryall, That all persons according to their demerits, might have suffered legall punishments. That you and your associats, the professed Authors of these popish books, and violent introducers of them in our Church against all our Laws and Customes might have been brought to answer, before your Judge competent, a lawfull generall Assembly: also that the interrupters of your shamefull usurpation might have come to an accompt for all their words & deeds that day: but you and your Colleagues knowing well your legall deserts would never bee pleased to come to any tryal. You presled very hard for some dayes, that a number of very honest men and women might have bin put to bodily tortures, and that all your abominable Novations might have been quietly without any scruple every where thereafter received: upon these conditions your clemencie was content to intercede with his Majestie, That the horrible and monstrous uprore might be pardoned; but when this your overture was not hearkened unto, your Antichristian furie broke out so high, that nothing could satiate your rage, but the destruction (with an English Army) of all your opposites in the whole Nation, and the fastning upon the neck of the Country with undissoluble bands, the yoke of a perpetuall slavery. Though in opposition to this your horrid designe, many thousands in both Nations be already destroyed, though the King himselfe be brought in extream danger, both of his Crown and person: yet so matchlesse is your rage, and that of your friends, that unlesse your pride, avarice, and errors may be satisfied, except Bishops, books, and a Turkish royaltie may be gotten established: you are willing the King, his Family, the remnant of his people should all bee destroyed with you, and turned into water, to quench the fire of your ashes. It's a great mercy of God to these Lands, that such unparalelled furies are not buried below the ground, or beaten off to so remote corners, that they may no more bee seene in

the

the ſocieties of men, either of Church or State.

From your 32. page, as a man diſtracted ye ramble up and downe, backward and forward you ravell in ſo many things old and new, that to follow you with any orderly, cleere and diſtinct anſwer, I think it impoſſible. Your firſt gybe is, at the power of the Generall Aſſembly, which the King and Parliament has allowed unto it, and whereof they are in a quiet poſſeſſion: to wit, that in matters meerely Spirituall, they are the laſt ordinary Iudges: but if they ſhould miſcarry, that the King and Parliament ſhould not have power to make them reforme their errours, it never came in any of our minds. Your next calumny is, that wee count it but a curteſie, and no neceſſary duty to Petition for the civill ſanction to our Acts, and that if our Petitions bee not granted, we are ready by Excommunication and rebellion, to force the King and the State to our will; Theſe are but Symptomes of a ſpirit in which Excommunication has wrought its firſt effect, I wiſh it might worke farther for your repentance and ſalvation.

P. 32. Our Aſſemblies did ever deferre all loyall ſubjection to the King.

For proofe of the Aſſemblies uſurping over the King, you alledge firſt the late Sermon of the Scottiſh Pope at *Weſtminſter*, and then you run backe upon our firſt reformation. It is true, that Scottiſh Pope was the man whom the Generall Aſſembly made their inſtrument, to deliver you over to the Divel, and therfore your rage againſt him for that neceſſary and good ſervice is great: out of his Sermon you dare cite nothing, and it is well known, that no orthodox Divine in any of the reformed Churches, is more willing to give to Soveraign Princes all their due, then that moſt worthy man is, and ever has been. In your ſcoffe of a Scottiſh Pope, the ſmoke of ignorance goes up, with the fire of malice: theſe many years, for your old ſtinging, you have bin removed to dark Cavernes, though ſometimes for a Breathing you have cropen out to *Oxford* & *Dublin*: but had your crimes permitted you to have walked a little, either at *Lond.* or *Edinburgh*, or any where in this Iſle, where the Sun of Truth & Juſtice did ſhine, or any where over Sea, where the affaires of this Iſle with any ingenuity uſe to be repreſented: you would not have called that moſt gracious man a Pope. For how ever

Mr. *Hinderſon* is farr from all diſloyall and papall humours.

ever you have declared your ſelfe for Scottiſh Cardinalls, and a Pope over the whole Church Catholick through al the world: and all who know you, will beare you witneſſe, that in *Scotland* ſo proud and arrogant a Prelate, did not breath in our dayes: yet the venerable divine whom you ſlander is ſo farre from the note you would put upon him, that a more modeſt and humble ſpirit of ſo great parts, and deſerved authority with all the greateſt of the Iſle, lives not this day in the reformed Churches.

Our firſt reformation was authorized by Parliament.

But it is our firſt Reformation that chiefely grieves you, you continually breake out upon that, and repeate very oft the ſame moſt bitter ſlanders. The reformation in *Scotland*, as has been ſaid, began long before the yeare 1558. when the Queens Mother was not yet come to the government, in the yeare 1542. the Proteſtant Regent, Duke *Hamilton*, with the conſent of Parliament did then authorize it, and ſet it on foot; albeit the compleat and publick Reformation of the whole Land, was not till the yeare 1560. when the Parliament convened by the authority of our Soveraigne, and after ratified by her, did authorize it fully. Her delay for a little to ratifie that Parliament makes nothing againſt its validity, eſpecially ſince now for fourſcore and five yeares it has ſtood firme, as one of our moſt happy Parliaments, not queſtioned by any, but ſome few eminently malignant Papiſts, and Prelates.

That which here you ſcorne in *Knox*, is a truth uncontroverted by any reaſonable man: that Religion has its own proper intrinſecall ſtrength from God, its only Author; that Princes and ſtates may, and ought as ſervants to God their Lord, make way for it in their Dominions by their good Lawes; but this does not adde any more internall truth and ſtrength to Religion then it has of it ſelfe, before the Magiſtrate confirmed it, and which it cannot loſe although the Magiſtrate doe cry it downe, and perſecute it for errour.

Concerning the debates in the yeares 1558. and 1559. betwixt Queen Regent and the States for the juſt Liberties of the Kingdome, for both agreed that this was the chiefe quarrell, we repeat not what we have ſaid before.

What

What you bring from the thirty third p. 1039. I have met with it a most all in my answer to the other Treatise. In the yeare 1571. a Committee of the generall Assembly at *Leeth*, deceived by some prime Courtiers, too much engaged unto the Prelates of *England*, did advise to set up Bishops in the Church of *Scotland*, with the name, and some shadow of the things which then were in *England*: but the thing it selfe, a sole power of Ordination, and Jurisdiction over the whole Dioceese in one mans hand, they never dreamed of. Yea, the very name and shadow whereto that Committee was drawne, was never allowed of by any act of a lawfull generall Assembly: for the very next Assembly did disclaime it, and ever after, the matter was in debate till both name and thing was totally exploded.

P. 33. 34. 35. Episcopasie was never approved by any lawfull Assembly in *Scotland*.

Your discourse of the Negative confession, and Church-government, in the yeare 1580. and 1581. and of the platforme of Presbiteries, as set up by Mr. *Melvil* without the Kings Authority with much stuffe of this kind, demonstrates your mind, to calumniate with a great deale either of ignorance of the times, or malicious resolution to lye.

In the yeare 1580. some prime Courtiers, and others truly popish in their heart, yet for their own ends was content to dissemble, and to abjure popery with their owne equivocations and mentall reservations. The King desiring to stop all starting holes, caused Mr. *Craige* the Pastor of his Familie to draw up a confession, every particular, rejecting expresly the most of the Romish errours: this King *James* himselfe did Signe, and permitted none to live at his Court, who did not sweare it, he ordained it also to goe through the whole Land. Towards this confession scornfully called negative, the Prelaticall party did ever carry an evill eye, for it was a stronger barr against popery, and their intended innovations, then their designes could well admit.

The short confession of Faith was subscribed by King *James* in the year 1580.

The whole sixe yeares before that Confession, the Generall and provinciall Assemblies were much exercised, in perfiting the second booke of discipline, wherein the whole body of the Presbiterian Government is fully set downe: nothing in our Church did ever passe with so great deliberation, nor with greater unanimity. In the year 1578.

The Presbiterian government was fully agreed to before that time.

it

it was all agreed unto in the Generall Assembly: Mr. *Melvill* was a gracious instrument in that worke, but all the Divines of the Kingdome did joyne with him therein. With the states they had some controversie, but not for the matter of Government, in this the Harmony betwixt the Church and State was full, but for the Church Patrimony, wherein the King did joyne heartily with the Assembly against the Court, and wherein your selfe cannot but beare witnes to the honesty of the Divines at that time. For it was their mind that Church rents ought not to be impropriat to Courtiers nor given to Prelats, nor serve the ambition and avarice of any Church-men, but ought to be imployed for the Honorable and comfortable maintenance of all that served at the Altar, and for the reliefe of the poore and strangers, and what was above, to go to the publicke uses of the state. But in this gracious designe, the cunning first of the Court, and after of the Prelates, did Crosse both the King and the Assembly, so that for peace they behoved to yeild, albeit upon occasion both his Majesty and the Church did often protest fortheir rights.

The King and his Counsell did set up the Presbyteries over all the Land at the same time.

But for any parts of the Presbiteriall Government which in that Booke of discipline was set downe, there was no controversie in the year 1580 betwixt the Church and the Court: The privie counsell had subscribed all that book with some reservation about Church rents; the Generall Assemblies oft did agree to it without any exception, his Majestie himselfe in the fore named year did send to the Assembly with an expresse commissioner the platform of all the Presbiteries, which thereafter were erected over all *Scotland*, & which against all the Prelats assaults have ever stood firme to this day; so your alleagencies are exceeding false, that the Presbiteries were erected without the Kings authority, and that in the yeare 1580 the Government of our Church was Episcopall, these are putide thredbare lyes.

The Generall Assembly did never allow of Abbots and Priors as Churchmen, and though they pressed the great injustice that Popish Bishops and lay Abbots should sit in Parliament in name of the Church to vote as the third e-

The Generall Assembly did never approve of Abbots and Priors.

Estate without any Commission from the Church, yet it was never their intention to have any of their owne number appointed by themselves to vote in Parliament, in name of the Church of *Scotland*, For when King *Iames* a little before his going to *England* was very earnest with the generall Assembly to accept of that as a favour, they forseeing the snare did resolutely reject it, ever til his Maje. by very great dealing, did draw a plurality of an unadvised Assembly to embrace that power of voting in Parliament, but with a nũber of Caveats, which wise men foresaw would never be kept.

That Master *Melvil*, or any Presbitery of that Land had ever any hand in impropriating or dilapidating any part of the Church Rent, is farre from truth: But that your good Colleagues, the Prelats, in the Parliament, 1606. made a bargaine for alienating from the Church for ever, no fewer then 16. *Abbays* at one time, I declared before.

About that time what the practises of the disciplinarians at *London* might be, I doe not know: but this is certaine, that Mr. *Cartwright* and all the old nonconformists in *England*, were our deare Brethren and made a waies the Government of the Church of *Scotland* the measure of their desires, that betwixt us and the Antiepiscopall party here, was never any difference, till the unhappy Separatists, and their Children the Independents did make it.

Your invenomed invective against the present Reformation of both Kinge mes as a monstrous deformation we let it lye in your owne bosome to keep you warme, till you be p eased to bring all of it abroad in that Anatomie which here you promise but we expect no performance till you first have had leasure (as likewise you stand engaged by your word) to put the foure Limbes unto that Gorgons head of your Turkish Monarchy which some yeares agoe you set up at *Oxford*.

In your 36.p. you run upon our Assemblies for appointing Ministers to Preach pertinent doctrine, and advising them who did Preach to the King and State to speake a word in season for the weell of *Sion*, at that time as I shew before, their was a mighty designe to advance the Catholick League, for the overthrow of Queene *Elizabeth* and

P.36. The Ministers in *Scotland* were wont to give the King seasonable Counsell, but in all wisdome and humility.

all Protestants, the prime Courtiers were diligent Agents herein, the men who were trusted to be watchmen to the Kings person and Family, if at such a time they should have beene silent, they could not have answered it either to God or man: You and your gracious companions, who never had a mouth to divert a Prince from any evill course, were yet loud trumpets of fury in the most of your Sermons and Prayers to inflame him against his two Puritan Parliaments of *Britaine*, but to calme him towards his innocent and Catholick trusty Subjects of *Ireland*.

That any Assembly in *Scotland* ever challenged the sole power of indicting fasts is in the ordinary predicament of your assertions under the spece of palpable untruths. Of the feast at *Edinburgh* p.37. I have given in the other Treatise a full accompt, only I add here that in this your relation you make it more false then any other of your friends who write thereof: the King was neither invited, nor present; the originall of the motion was not from the King, but the French Merchants, for their owne ends; the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* did not countenance the feast, for of their foure Bailies three kept the fast: the appointers of that abstinence were not the Ministers, but the Magistrates and the Congregationall Eldership, not the supreame, but the lowest judicatory of the Church: the Processe against the Magistrates and the Kings great Solicitation that it might be Superceeded ar meerly fabulous.

P.37.38. No affront was offered to the King by the fast at *Edinburgh*.

I have also given a large account of your next calumnie in the other Treatis: no man in *Scotland* did ever maintaine that a Minister Preaching Treason might not be conveened and punished by the Magistrate according to the Lawes. All Mr. *Melvils* plea, was that a Minister of the Church of *Scotland*, and a member of the University of St. *Andrews*, being priviledged by the antient and late Lawes of the Kingdome, was not necessitate at the first instance to answer before the privy counsell for a passage of his Sermon, which most falsly was said to be treasonable. The whole case I have opened at large else where.

If any should Preach Treason with us he is censurable both by Church and State.

The acts of Parliament you speake of warranting an unreasonable Supremacy were procured in the yeare 1584. by

that

that insolent Tyrant Captain *Iames*, and the Declaration upon them was penned by Bishop *Adamson*, also both the Acts and the Declaration were recalled by the King and Parliament, That any invectives against his Majesties person for these acts were spread abroad we doe deny it: we think it very possible that much might both have been spoken and written against the matter of these acts, but that any man was so unmannerly as to fall upon the King himselfe before we beleeve it, we must have a greater evidence then a Prelates Testimony.

What you say of the fugitive Ministers, as *Spotswood* relates it, was thus. The acts of that Parliament 1584. were so bitter and grievous to all the gracious Ministers of *Scotland*, that many of them fled out of the Kingdome, and diverse of the prime laid downe their life, as it seemes of meere greife, Mr. *Smeeton* Principall Mr. of the Universitty of *Glasgow*, and Mr. *Arbuthnot*, of the Universitty of *Aberdeen* both dyed that yeare; all the Ministers of *Edinburgh* fled to *England*, and the cheife of them Mr. *Lawson* went to *London*: *Adamson* Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews* at that time kept great correspondence with the Bishops of *England*, who without any complaint of the Scottish Ambassadour, were able easily to get an affront put upon a Presbiterian fugitive: but if ye will beleeve *Spotswood*, Mr. *Lawson* was a man so eminent both for piety and prudence, that it can hardly be supposed any thing could escape him in preaching which might deserve the Queenes displeasure: how ever, that excellent man did dye at that time in *London*, as it seemes martyred by the injuries of the Scottish and English Prelates, which doubtles did helpe to bring downe that vengeance upon the Prelaticall State in *England*, which our eyes now doe behold.

The Erastian and Prelaticall principles brought great trouble on the Ministers of *Scotland*.

For the further evincing of the intollerable miscarriages of the Generall Assemby, you bring three other stories p. 39. 40. all are faults alleadged against single Ministers which were they never so great and true, ought not to be laid upon the Assembly; but see how all are misreported the first concernes *Iames Gibson* a zealous Country Minister, who Preaching in a very troublesome time,

P. 39. The case of *Iames Gibson*.

ſpoke more raſhly of the King then became him, the words that you aſcribe to him, we may not take them at your hand, for in the ſame matter by *Spotſwoods* owne Teſtimony, you are guilty of a great untruth, you avow that the King cauſed complaint to be made to the Aſſembly of this man, But by no intreaty could obtaine any puniſhment to be inflicted upon him: *Spotſwood* ſays the contrary, that the Aſſembly did pronounce the mans words to be ſlanderous and therefore ſuſpended him from his Miniſtry, and while they were in further agitation of his cauſe, that he fled into *England*, doubtles for feare of his life: what became of him thereafter I know not, only I have read in a good Author, that what here you inſinuate of his favouring *Hacket* and *Copinger* is a very falſe calumny.

Maſter *David Black* his caſe.

The next you ſpeak of is Mr. *David Blacke*, Miniſter of St. *Andrews*, a man of great piety and prudence, his name is yet very ſavoury in that Towne: though there be in it ſome three or foure thouſand people, yet ſo great was the zeale, wiſdome, and diligence of Mr. *Blacke*, that during all the time of his Miniſtry there, no perſon was ſeen either to beg or prophane the Sabbath day, in all that Congregation. This man being delated to the ſecret counſell by a very naughty perſon, that in a Sermon he had ſpoken diſgracefully of the King, was willing to have appeared, and cleered himſelfe of that calumny; but finding that it was not his perſon which was aimed at, but a quarrell with the whole Church in him, ſought for by the miſleaders of the Court, he thought meet to appeale not ſimply from the King but from the King and ſecret counſell to the King and Generall Aſſembly: as to the proper and competent Judge appointed by the Law for matters of Doctrine. While this queſtion is in agitation, a great ſtorme did fall upon the Church from the ſeventeenth day of *December*, which made Mr. *Blacks* cauſe be laid aſide yet a little thereafter for to pleaſe the King the Commiſſioners of the generall Aſſembly did paſſe upon that gracious man a ſentence ſevere enough, removing him from St. *Andrews* to ſome obſcure corner where he paſſed the reſt of his dayes.

p. 49. A cleare vin-

Your third ſtory is of the Miniſters who went to *Aberdeen*

dom the yeare 1605. upon them you make a tragick Narration, a guilty of the most treasonable rebellion. Your rashnes is great, at these times to bring up to the light these things which for the honour of many, did lye long buried: but since it is your wisdom to make the world know, whereof with your friends advantage they might have been ignorant, the matter was this. It was the custom of *Scotland*, ever from the Reformation, to keep generall Assemblies twice, or at least once every yeare; After some debates in the yeare 1592. it became a Law, and an Act of Parliament, agreed to unanimously by the King and States, and accordingly it was practised without any interruption, that the Generall Assembly should meet at least once a yeare, and appoint when all other actions were ended, the day and place for the next yeares meeting. In the yeare 1602. the Assembly in the Kings presence, and with his advice did appoint the day and place of their next meeting, in the yeare 1603. His Majestie at that time going to *England*, tooke upon him to prorogat the Assembly till the same day and place of the yeare following 1604. of this prorogation there could be no necessity, but his Majesties meere pleasure. When the Dyet of the yeare 1604. did come the affaires of the Church did greatly call for an Assembly yet it was his Majesties will to make a second prorogation to the fifth of *July*, 1605. This was much to the hurt griefe, and feare of all the godly, yet they indured it, but when the Dyet of the yeare 1605. was come, His Majestie did not only prorogate the third time, but also made the day of the next meeting uncertaine, and indefinite. This gave an allarme to the whole Kingdome, all the world did see the Kings designe to bring the English Episcopacie and all their Ceremonies upon the Church of *Scotland*: also the mistery of popery was then working vehemently, a mighty faction of popish Lords were still countenanced among us, immediate correspondence with the Pope by the chiefe States-men was much surmised, and afterward was found to be too true. *Scotland* had no considerable Bulwarke either against English or Romish corruptions, but their generall Assemblies; if these were removed, the poore Church lay open to the inundation of

dication of the assembly at *Aberdeen* in the yeare 1605.

what ever Antichriſtianiſme the Court was pleaſed to ſend in. The generall Aſſembly beſides its divine right, was grounded upon ſo good Lawes as *Scotland* could afford; but ſo that at the end of the preſent Aſſembly, the Dyet of the next ſhould alwayes be appointed, however his Majeſties deſigne to put downe the generall Aſſembly was evidently ſeen by all intelligent men, yet ſo long as he prorogate it to a certaine day, men were quiet: but ſo ſoon as he commanded the third dyet, to be deſerted and that to an uncertaine and infinite time, they to whom the welfare of the Church was deare, did awaken and found it neceſſary to keepe the Dyet appointed in the ſecond prorogation at *Aberdeen July* 2. or 5. 1605. The Commiſſioners of the Preſbiteries in their way to *Aberdeen* adviſed with Chancellor *Seaton* the prime Magiſtrate of the Kingdome in the Kings abſence, and were incouraged by him to goe on, yet ſo ſoon as any of them came to the place, A Gentleman the Lord of *Lauriſtone*, came to them with a warrant from the King and privy Counſell and diſcharged them to keepe any Aſſembly there: yet the will of the King and Counſell was not intimated to them in convenient time, for when the King and Counſells Letter was preſented, they ſhew they were not in a capacity to receave it, till once they were an Aſſembly, ſo with *Lauriſtons* good liking they did pray and choſe their Moderator and Clerke: thereafter they did receive and read the Letters diſcharging the Aſſembly, to which they gave preſent obedience, and did no more at all but appointed the next meeting according to the expreſſe act of Parliament. *Lauriſton* after the Aſſembly was diſſolved, was ſo officious as by a Lyon herauld with a publike Proclamation to command them to be gone; this Proclamation moſt falſly he did antidate as if it had beene uſed before the Miniſters ſat downe, hereupon the Miniſters were convened before the ſecret Counſell for keeping of a Conventicle contrary to the Kings command, they anſwered as *Spotſwood* ſays, that they had done nothing but according to the Laws both divine and humane, That the Generall Aſſembly had right to meet in the great neceſſities of the Church, and the Laws of *Scotland* gave them

them expreſſe warrant to meet: *Lauriſton* told them that the King might delay all meetings both of Church and State, Parliaments and Aſſemblies ſo long as he pleaſed, they replyed that they could doe nothing againſt the Kings mind ſo long as they followed the expreſſe order of his ſtanding Lawes. When the King, and ſtate has paſt an act for Trienniall Parliaments, and the Commiſſioners of ſhires doe meet at the day appointed to ſence a Parliament according to Law and long uncontroverted cuſtome, if by evill Counſell the King ſhould not only delay but by a Proclamation put of the meeting to an uncertaine and infinite time, ought theſe Commiſſioners for following the inſtructions of their ſhires according to Law and cuſtome, be lyable to any cenſure: the caſe now in hand is juſt the ſame.

The Miniſters did plead further, that the privie Counce'l was not a competent Judicatorie to the queſtion, what was a lawfull, or unlawfull Aſſembly: that by the Lawes of the Kingdome ſuch queſtions were to be decided by a lawfull Generall Aſſembly, and not elſewhere.

At that time Doctor *Bancroft* was Patron to the naughty Preachers of *Scotland*, who were panting for Biſhopricks, and as after the conference at *Hampton* Court, he had moved the King to cruſh the moſt of the gracious Brethren of *England*, who could not ſubmit to Epiſcopacie, and its Ceremonies; So then did he haſten a Meſſage to the Councell of *Scotland*, for the condemning all who adhered to the Aſſembly of *Aberdeen*, of high Treaſon. To maintaine a power in the Church to keep an Aſſembly, or in the State, to keep a Parliament, whether to begin, or to continue it, when the King did diſcharge, (though the Law did expreſly warrant it) was to oppoſe the Royall prerogative and could be no leſſe then the higheſt treaſon, eſpecially if any did decline the Judgement of the Privy Counſell, or any other Judicatorie, to which the King was pleaſed to referre the deciſion of this caſe: though the nature of the thing and the Law, did require the queſtion to bee determined in another Court.

For this plea a number of gracious Miniſters were condemned

demned by an Assize to be executed as Traitours, but thereafter as it were of great favour, and speciall grace their lives were spared, yet were they all presently banished, never to returne to any of the Kings Dominions while they lived. All the godly and wise in the Land did cry out upon this Act of the Candidats of Episcopacie, as of the highest injustice and Tyranny.

Mr. *Welsh*, and Master *Forbes*, their oppression.

All the sufferers were men exceedingly beloved, but some of them were very eminent, Master *Forbes* was a man of so great learning and prudence, that in *Germany*, both higher and lower, yea, with King *James* himselfe, and King *Charles* he was held while he lived, in singular reputation. Master *Welsh* was a man altogether Apostolike, of rare both learning and piety. The fame of this mans zeale was so great, that not only the Protestants of *France*, but the very Popish Priests and Souldiers, yea, the prophanest of the Court and King *Lewis* himselfe, at the very time of his hottest persecutions, did much prize and reverence him: yet so great was the rage of the Bishops against him, that when in his old age and great sickness he came over to *England*, and according to the direction of his Phisitians did supplicate to be permitted to breath a little in his naturall aire, though he was altogether unable for preaching, or making any more sturre in the world, it was peremptorily denyed him unless he should give assurance of putting his necke under the Episcopall yoke: not being able to doe this, he was forced to dye out of his Country, a banished man.

Bancroft a persecutor of the *Scottish* Presbiterians.

Who would not have thought that the ruine of so many gracious men might have fully satiate the malice of a few ambitious persons, but they were not content: they proceeded farther in their cruelty, they moved the King to call up to *London* a number of more Divines, who for piety, zeale, and learning, were of greatest reputation. The pretext was faire, and his Majesties Letter to them courteous, he required them to come up to give him their best advice how the Church of *Scotland* might best be settled in peace, but behold *Bancrofts*, and the Scottish Episcopaturians fraud, they are brought before the King and Councell, and there are posed with a number of dangerous and insnaring questions,

questions to which they declined to answer, yet being much pressed, they gave in their mind in writing so humbly and prudently as was possible: no quarrell could be picked against any of their words, yet were they all arrested to stay at *London*, till contrary to Law and the order of the Church, and the heart of all the godly, their adversaries were set downe in *Scotland*, upon their Episcopall Thrones.

The undoing of Mr. *Andrew* and Mr. *James Melvils*.

Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, a great Light to the Scottish Nation, for his free speeches after great provocation, against the English Bishops and Ceremonies, to which he (a stranger called up by the Kings friendly Letter) did owe no subjection, was kept prisoner three whole yeares, and then was sent over to *Sedan*, where he lived to his death a banished man. His Nephew Mr. *James Melvil*, for his excellent parts in great favour with the King, but unable to comply with Episcopall designes, was kept out of *Scotland* till his dying day; the rest were at last sent home, but all of them as Prisoners, confined to certaine places. These were the first fruits of the English Prelacie in *Scotland*, but yearly thereafter that tree did bring forth such grapes of *Gomorrha* among us, that the Land could be at no peace, till it was cut downe, yea plucked up by the rootes.

P. 41. Prelaticall calumnies.

It might have satisfied the unnaturall malice of a very wicked child, to have bespattered the face of his innocent mother, with the halfe of the former very injurious and false calumnies, yet you the worst of all your Mothers children, must have leave to poure more of your excrements upon her head. From your page 41. to the 46. you would make the world believe, that the Church of *Scotland* does excommunicate good men, and tender consciences for a dissent in the smallest points of Religion, and does persecute for such differences with all the rigour of temporall afflictions. Secondly you affirme that the Assemblies of that Church take upon them to make Traitours whom they will, and to cast out of the Court, whether the King will or not the greatest and best men, with whom they are displeased. Thirdly, that these Assemblies doe alter the Lawes of the Kingdome at their pleasure: Surely if strangers who know not the Constitution and customes of that

Church, were disposed to believe all you say, they could not but by your relations be brought to a very evill opinion of your mother whom you an unnaturall son so vildly slander: but it is good that men here are so rationall, as not to take upon trust the naked assertions of a malicious enemie.

The discipline of *Scotland* is farre from all rigour and Tirany.

For the first, a complaint of rash Excommunication, and persecution therupon, is very impertinent from your mouth: it is not so long that yet it can be forgotten, since you and your Colleagues did allow your Officialls and others to excommunicate good people for trifles, yea, for no offence at all, but their zeale to God, and the good of their Country: your Cannons in all the three Kingdomes are extant, your cruelties are fresh, in imprisoning, banishing, Pilloring, stigmatizing the worthiest men for contradicting you in any one of your numerous ceremonies and traditions.

As for the Church of *Scotland*, that it did ever meddle to trouble any in their goods, Liberties, or persons, it's very false: what civill penalties the Parliament of a Kingdome thinkes meet to inflict upon those who are refractory, and unamendable by the censures of a Church, the state from whom alone these punishments doe come, are answerable, and not the Church.

That Excommunication in *Scotland*, is inflicted upon those who cannot assent to every point of Religion determined in their confession, there is nothing more untrue, for wee know it well, that never any person in *Scotland*, was Excommunicate only for his difference of opinion in a Theologick tenet, Excommunication there, is a very dreadfull sentence, and therefore very rare: these last forty yeares, so farre as I have either seen or heard, there has none at all been Excommunicate in *Scotland*, but some few trafficking Papists, and some very few notoriously flagitious persons, and five or six of you the Prelates for your obstinate impenitency, after your overturning the foundations both of our Church & State, and one most rigid and pragmatick Brownist, who for all that could be done or said, would needs make it his worke to perswade all he was able by discourse, Letters, and spreading of books, that in *Scotland* there was neither

neither a Church, nor any Ministery, nor any Ordinance.

In *Scotland* wee count the spirituall Judgement of Excommunication most heavie, but any temporall inconvenience that follows upon it, is not very considerable: for first there is not any civill hazard at all to any excommunicate man, who will suffer himselfe to be brought to any measure of repentance. Secondly, were they never so impenitent, ther is no harme can come to them (as I remember) a whole yeare after the long processe and finall sentence of Excõmunication. Thirdly after a yeares cõtumacy, though the Letter of the Act of Parliament be heavy, yet I appeale to any who has lived in *Scotland*, among the very few whom they have knowne Excommunicate, how many did they ever heare to have been hurt in their goods, imprisoned, or banished. I am sure that *Huntly*, *Arrole*, and *Angus*, and the other popish Lords, though for their plotting to undermine the State, their persons after Excommunication have been secured, yet no penny of their estates went to the Kings Exchequer, or to the hands of any of their unfriends: but as the ordinary custome is, upon the pretext of a small composition, what ever the Letter of the Law takes from them, it is all put in the hand of such of their friends whom they doe most trust; *Scotlands* guilt may well be too much indulgence, but of any excessive rigour towards spirituall offenders, they will bee condemned by none that knowes them.

P. 42. 43. 44. A narration of the roads of *Ruthven* and *Stirling*.

Your other imputation, that our generall Assembly takes upon it to be judge what is Treason, and who are fit to bee Counsellours, nothing is more false. But here you doe us the favour to prove your Alleageance by a long story, to which I have given a full answer in the other Treatise: At that time of King *James* minority, *Spotswood* himselfe being witnesse, our State was miserably misguided, the Tyrannie of Captaine *Iames*, supported too much by the favour of the Earle of *Lennox*, was very grievous, both to Church and State: I touch but upon one instance. The greatest subject of the Kingdome, and at that time neerest to the King in blood was *Iames Hamilton* Earle of *Arran*, a very gracious and most brave man before his sickneſse: without

any fault at all, so much as alleaged for he was uncapable at that time of any crime, being vinted with a distemper that made him keep his house, and hindred him from meddling with any affaires of State, yet was he spoiled by the fraud and violence of Captaine *Iames Stewart*, of all his Lands and honour. This violent oppressour was made Earle of *Arran*, and Chancelour of the Kingdome. At that time the designe was cleere and confessed, to bring Queen *Mary* out of her prison in *England*, to set her againe upon her Throne, to advance the Catholique League which then was newly made, betwixt the *Guises*, King *Iames* his grand Uncles and the King of *Spaine*, for the destroying Queen *Elizabeth* and the whole Protestant party; For the preventing of these mischiefs, the prime Nobility found it absolutely necessary, to have the advancers of these counsels removed from the minor King. What ever fault was in this action, the Assembly is unjustly charged therewith. Their advice was never sought thereto, only halfe a yeare after it was done, his Majesty sent a speciall Command to the Assembly for their approbation thereof: for as by divers of his Letters to all the neighbour Princes, he did signifie his good liking of that action, so in all the great Courts of the Kingdome hee required it to be approved. The privy Councell, the convention of Estates, the generall Assembly by his Majesties expresse Commission did all assent to his will. It is true Captaine *Iames*, so soon as he crept in againe into Court, did change the young Kings mind, but the event of that alteration was a more horrible confusion both of Church and State. The Earle of *Gowry* was beheaded; as a litt'e before the Earle of *Morton*, sundry Gentlemen of good quality, most innocent, were hanged; many of the prime Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ministers, were forced to flee for their lives out of the Kingdome, till all of them joyning together did ride in Armes to *Stirling*, and by violence, though without hurt to any mans person, did the second time remove those Courtiers, and for ever after kept them from the King, to the full quieting both of Church and State. This Rode of *Stirling* was much more cried out upon by the wicked Prelates and Courtiers, then the former

of

of *Ruthven*, yet was it approved for good service to the King and State, not only as the former by the privie Counsel, and convention of States, but also by the ensuing Parliament and so it remaines unquarrelled unto this day.

Your third complaint is, that the generall Assemblies doe alter what the Law has established: all your examples hereof are, The Votes of the late generall Assembly at *Glasgow*, condemning the civill places of Church-men, pronouncing the very office it selfe of Bishops to be unlawfull in the Church, and crying downe the high Commission Court. Here you fall upon the Parliament of *England* as fooles and Traitours for letting themselves bee perswaded by the Scots to swallow downe their wicked Covenant. To all this, our Apologie is briefe, what ever power our generall Assembly possesses, is all well allowed by the King and Parliament. The acts of that Assembly you complaine of, are all ratified by the State: the order of our proceeding is appointed by Law, all matters Spirituall and Ecclesiastick, are first determined by the generall Assembly, if the nature of the things require a civill Sanction, the Votes of the Assembly are transmitted to the Parliament, if a Generall Assembly have voted an Errour, or any thing that's wrong, and that corruption hath been ratified by an Act of Parliament: a Posterior generall Assembly recognosces the matter, and finding an errour in Religion, notwithstanding of the prior votes both of the Assembly and Parliament, does condemne it, and appoints Commissioners to represent the reasons of their vote to the next Parliament with an humble supplication to annull these Acts and Laws which did confirme the condemned corruption. This has been the method of proceeding in *Scotland*, since the first erection of a generall Assembly: in this way were all the Errours of Popery first condemned in the Assembly before the Parliament did recall their old Lawes which confirmed them. The forme of this proceeding established by the Parliament it selfe, does not import any subordination either of the lawes, or the Parliament to the Assembly.

P. 45. The Assembly repeales no lawes, but supplicates the Parliament to recall their ratifications of Ecclesiasticall corruptions.

At this place p. 46. you bring us another story, whereupon you make tragick out-cryes of the Assemblies insolent usurpations,

P. 46. It meddles with no civill Courts.

pations, it seems, you thought that this your book should never have come from *Oxford* into the hands of any Scottish man, who knew the Custome of the Judicatories of *Scotland*: I doe marvell much at your impudence, that you should speake of the Assemblies incroaching upon the Lords of Session, or medling with any Civill cause, which the Law commits to any temporall Judicatory; there is no better harmony in the world, then alwayes has been in *Scotland* between the civill and Ecclesiasticall Judicatories; no interfeiring was ever among them, but what the Bishops made. You indeed in your high Commission did take causes both civill and Ecclesiasticall to your Cognisance from all the Courts of the Kingdome, and did at your pleasure, without, and contrary to all known Lawes, finally determine them, without any appeale, but to the King, by whom you were sure ever to be best beleeved.

The ease of Mr. *John Graham.*

For the story in hand, I am content *Spotswood* be Judge, as he relates it, the matter was thus, Mr. *John Graham*, one of the Lords of Session, or Judges of the Common Pleas, a very false and dishoneſt man, intended an action against some poore men, to put them from their Lands; for to effectuate his purpose, he seduced a publique Notary dwelling at *Stirling*, and perswaded him to subscribe a false Writte, upon the which the poore men by a decree of the Lords of Session were removed from their possessions. The oppressed soules cryd out of their injurie, and intended action against the Notary for his false Writ; they got him arrested, and imprisoned: The Minister of the bounds, Mr. *Patrick Simpson*, whom King *James* and all *Scotland* knew to be a most learned, zealous, and pious Pastor as was in the whole Isle, dealt with the Prisoner to confesse the truth; after some conference, he confessed all, and declared how Mr. *John Graham* had sent his Brother to him, with a false Writte, which hee did subscribe; an assize was called, the poore Notary upon his own confession was condemned and hanged. Mr. *John Graham*, as covetous and false, so a most proud man, would not rest satisfied, but presently summoned Master *Patrick Simpson* to appeare before the Lords of Session, as a seducer of the honeſt Notary to lye against his owne life;

life; Mr. *Patrick*, was ready to cleare his own innocencie, whereof all were well perswaded, but shamefully wronged by an impudent man in his good name, he caused cite him before the Assembly as a slanderer of a Minister in the work of his calling: the Lords of Session not content that any of their number should be called before the Assembly for any action depending in their Court, did send forth of their number to the Assembly for to debate the whole matter. The Assembly told them that they would not meddle with any thing that was civill, nor which belonged to their Court; that they intended to take no notice of their decrees, as Mr. *John Grahams* instance to cast the poore [illegible] out of their Land, whether it was right or wrong: nor the Notaries Instrument wherefore he was hanged, whether it was true or false. They told them also, that whatsoever they had to say to Mr. *Patrick Simpson*, hee was to answer them as they should thinke fit, in due time and place; the Assemblies question was alone about the slander of one of their Members whom Mr. *John Graham* did openly challenge as a Seducer, of a Notary to beare false witnesse; They had cited Mr. *John Graham* before them to make this good, that so they might censure Mr. *Patrick Simpson*, as a man unworthy of the Ministry, or if Mr. *John Graham*'s challenge was found a meere calumny, that he might bee brought to repentance for it in acknowledging of his wrong. Let any equitable man judge how insolent the Assemblies proceeding in this action was; for a time there was some controversie about this matter betwixt the Assembly and the Session, but at last all was amicably composed, and God decided the question with the violent death, and publick disgrace of Mr. *John Graham*.

What ye subjoyne of King *Iames* trouble to the shedding of teares, I take it for your meere invention: for *Spotswood* the fountaine of all your stories, who never failes to relate to the full, what ever is meete to draw any envy upon the good Ministers, who opposed the Episcopall designes, makes no mention at all of King *Iames* teares. I grant he reports that advice of the Chancellour, and some such reply to it as you speake of, but how truely I cannot tell, onely this

P. 47. The great controversie betwixt the King and the Church, was about the infinite extent of the Prerogative.

is

is most certaine that what ever difference King *Iames* had with the Ministers, it was alone about the great Idoll of his Prerogative, to do as a Monarch in Church and State what he thought convenient, with his prerogative in matters of State they did never meddle, but his designe to bring Bishops and Ceremonies in the Church as they conceived, against law and reason, the most honest of the Ministry did ever oppose it to their power, albeit in a humble and warrantable way: others for their own gain and advancement, did yeeld to his desires, and assisted him with all their powers, to advance his Prerogative so high, as to do, without any resistance, all his pleasure both in Church and State. But the Lord now has cleered that controversie, and has made the righteousnesse of these oppressed men shine as the light, and the baseneſse of these flatterers appeare, in its owne base and vile colours.

The Presbiterie is a great barre to keep out Democracy and Tyrannie, both from Church and State.

Concerning his Majesties discourses at the Conference of *Hampton* Court, we confesse they cannot be very favourable to any who opposed Episcopacy, which these of your Court long before that time had made him believe was the maine pillar of his Throne, and had perswaded him to looke upon all, that was disaffected thereunto, as enemies to his Crowne. But how farre you are here mistaken in fastning upon Presbiteriall government any furtherance of Democracy, not reason alone, but now also ample experience makes it evident, there is not such a barre this day, as both friends and foes doe well know against the Sectaries designes to bring in a popular government in the Church as Presbitery: And if your rules be right enemies to Democracie in the Church, will never be instruments to bring it in to the State.

It is a singular help both to Parliaments & Iust Monarchie.

If Presbitery could be partiall towards any one civill Government more then another, its similitude and consanguinity with the constitution of a Parliament might make it suspected to be inclinable to the rights of that Court, more then a Prince or the multitude could desire: but the truth is it medles not to the prejudice of any civill Government which it finds established by Law, but what ever that be, it supports it to its power, and how serviceable it

has

has ever been to Monarchy in *Scotland*, examples both of old and late doe demonstrate. Who were the prime instruments of settling King *Iames* in his infancy upon his Throne, who kept him into his Throne against all the assaults of his potent enemies? to whom in all his great straits had he ever his recourse during his abode in *Scotland*? to no other but to the Presbiterian Nobles, Gentry & Ministers, if these had been disposed to have changed the government of the state there was oft no considerable impediments upon earth to have opposed them; but such a desire never entered into their thoughts. And of later times when the Presbitery in *Scotland* hath attained its highest aimes, and is in capacity as you say to make what factions it will, when its provocations to anger were as great as readily can be againe and the madnes of you Malignant Prelates had laid the Crowne in *Scotland* very low, at such a season did the least disloyalty appeare in any of the Presbiterian side, were not they and they only the men which setled that throne which you had caused to shake, and fastened the Crowne upon that head from whence your hands by your extreame unjustice, pride and folly had well nere pulled it away? And at this very houre when you and all your friends are able to make no helpe at all, to releive not only the King and his house, but the Royalty it selfe from that extreame hazard of ruine wherein you alone both have cast them, and with all your heartswould stil continue them upon some phantastick hope which yet you have of attaining all your former desires, or else to revenge your disappointments, though all the world should perish: At this time when you have cast the Crown, the Throne and Scepter in the dust who is able who now is willing to save the King or to keepe Monarchy on foote? I hope albeit yout dementation be great, yet even you must see and confesse that it is the Presbiterians and these alone by whose hearts and hands this worke must be done, which indeed your goodnes and wisdome has made extreamely difficult and well nere unfeasible.

You fall very needlesly on Mr. *Catherwood* the Author of that Booke *altare damascenum*, a man of greater worth then all the Prelates that ever *Scotland* bred, put them P. 18. Mr. Catherwoods vindication.

all in one. Durſt ever any or all of you looke that man or his Booke, in the face? you had long twenty yeares leaſure to anſwer, but was ever the courage among you all to aſſay it? I doe not love to ſpeake, or when it is ſpoken by others, to defend any thing that may rub upon authority, yet when ſycophanticall Prelates make it their worke to bring moſt honeſt and gracious men in diſgrace with Princes for ſome incomodious phraſes which in the heat and current of large diſcourſes have eſcaped their pens, who ſhall but vindicate their innocency from ſuch flaterers accuſations.

Is it a crime for Maſter *Catherwood* to write, that in all Kings naturally their is a hatred to Chriſt; what doe you here intend to cenſure? are not all men naturally enemies to God? unto this natural Corruption that is Cómon to all fleſh does not great places in the world eſpecially Crowns and Throns, adde many provocations, from which poverty and meannes gives exemption; what would you here reprove? ſpeake out plainly your Pelagian tenet, deny originall ſin, make it one of the Royall Prerogatives in vertue of the Crowne, to be naturally gracious and an advancer of Chriſts Kingdome.

The other word you make your adverſary to ſay (albeit you profeſſe you ſpeake *per cur*) is, that King *Iames* was a moſt infenſe enemy to the purity of Religion: If ſuch tearmes were ever expreſſed, of what thinke you muſt they be underſtood, what is the ſubject of that ſpeech and of the whole Booke wherein you ſay it ſtands? Is it not of the Government of the Church and the Engliſh Ceremonies alone? to ſay that King *Iames* was a grea friend to theſe, and agreat oppoſite to the contrary, which yet the Parliaments of both Kingdomes now, and the reſt of the reformed Churches ever did profeſſe was truth, and a part of the purity of Religion: the affirmation of ſo much I hope will not be found a very monſtrous crime, though you beleeve Epiſcopacy to be ſo fundamentall a truth that all its oppoſits muſt needs be moſt properly Hereticks.

P. 48. 49. The Commiſſioners of the generall Aſſembly unjuſtly ſlandered.

In the remnant of your Booke from the page 48. to the 53. you make your declamatiõs againſt the Cõmiſſioners of the

Generall

Generall Assembly, you will have them to be the fountaine of all the Treasons, Seditions, Rebellions of the Land; but you should do well to prove this rather then to say it, for you know that your assertions have no faith and deserve none in *Scotland:* reason you can have none in the nature of the thing, for all established Courts either in Church or State have naturally a power in themselves to make Committees for the furthering of that worke which the Lawes of the Kingdome put in their hands. It is true, Committees under that name, were not early knowne in *Scotland*, the name and a part of the thing we learned from our Neighbours of *England*, but so soon as the Generall Assemblies did thinke meet to appoint some of their number to be a standing Committee to their next meeting, the expedient was unanimously embraced and liked of by none so well after a little tryall, as by King *Iames* and the State. I did never heare any hurt charged upon these Committees but one, that by the Kings extraordinary diligence with some of them, they were seduced to lay some ground stones, whereupon Episcopall Chaires were afterward set downe; but what here you lay to their charge is evidently false. Queen *Regent* was suspended from her authority by the state before there was any Generall Assembly in *Scotland*, Queen *Mary* was put from the Government and King *Iames* established therein by the Parliament; the Nobility at *Ruthven* did perswade King *Iames* to send the Duke of *Lenox* back to *France*, and remove Captaine *Iames* from Court before any Commissioners of a Generall Assembly were so much as thought upon: Being of necessity must precede all operation, It is folly to charge crimes upon a Committee before it had any existence, but all these your discourses are used as a preface and introduction to that grand Common place of the bitterest invectives of all your friends, the 17. day of *December* which you make the topstone and close of all your calumnies.

That much tossed matter, as I find it in *Spotswood* and others much more worthy Authors, was this. After the miscarriage of the Spanish designe upon this Isle in 88. the

P. 50. 51. 52. A full account of the 17. day of December.

the Popish faction of *Scotland* did still keep correspondence with *Philip* and his Ministers both in *Spaine* and *West Flanders*: Agents, Letters, Monies were ever going betwixt them; great hopes yearly of a new Navy, which fayling, the Iesuits moved *Huntly* and his complices to enterprise by themselves; these things were all discovered. Queen *Elizabeth*, who in all the popish designes was primely aimed at, did send frequent advertisements of their plots, which by intelligencers in *Rome* and *Spaine*, she came to understand. The Generall Assembly did excommunicate *Huntly*, the head of that turbulent faction, The King denounced him Rebell, he was often relaxed from the sentence both civill and Ecclesiastick, yet he ever relapsed and entered in new conspiracys for the overthrow of the Religion and Kingdome. The man was very bloody powerfull and active.

After Chancellour *Maitlands* death the prime Courtiers were knowne Papists, and drew the Kings mind to receive *Huntly* againe into favour, contrary to the Supplications of all his well-affected Subjects, and the manifold Letters of the Queen of *England*; these same Courtiers under pretence of mannaging the Kings rent, did graspe into their hands all the Offices of State, and favours of the Prince, to the extreame discontent of the most of their fellow Courtiers: Besides all this, they made it their chiefe designe to kindle the Kings wrath against the most zealous of the Ministry; they brought matters to such a passe in the beginning of *December* 1596. that the King in displeasure did Command by Proclamation the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly to dissolve, and goe out of *Edinborough*, they presently obeyed the charge; So what ever followed thereafter is unjustly charged upon that Committee, which long before the seventeenth day was dissolved and gone out of Towne.

On the sixteenth day, *Huntly*, who had killed the Earle of *Murray*, had defeat *Argyles* Army, had come to the fields against the King in person, conspired with the Spaniard to bring in the Armado, solicited often the Prince of *Parma* for a new Navy, plotted the taking of the King,

and

and killing of the Chancellour in his preſence, This man though both baniſhed and excommunicate, comming boldly to Court, put all *Edinburgh* in a juſt feare. So much the more, as in the morning of the ſevententh day, ſome of the Kings chiefe Servants and Bedchamber men (who it ſeems indeed had a reall intention to raiſe ſome trouble againſt the Octavians, by whom they were ſpoyled of their places and meanes) did informe the Miniſters and others, of *Huntlies* privie conference with the King the evening before, till midnight: this afterward was found to be but feigned by them; yet it was moſt true, that by theſe mens miſinformations, that very night the King by Proclamation as he had done before with the Commiſſioners of the Gene all Aſſembly commanded in the morning of the 17 Twenty foure of the cheefe and moſt zealous Citizens of *Edinburgh* to depart the Towne. All theſe things falling out together put the people in extreame feare of a preſent Maſſacre by the hands of *Huntly*, of the popiſh Courtiers and their faction. To prevent this miſchiefe Mr. *Balcanquall* whom it fell to preach that day, after Sermon deſired the cheefe of them who were preſent to ſtay for adviſement what was needfull to be done for their owne ſafety: in the meeting, nothing at all was reſolved upon, but a humble ſupplication to his Majeſtie that they might be in ſecurity from the dangerous plotts of the Papiſts, That the Lady *Huntly*, an excommunicate Papiſt, might be removed from Court and ſent home, That three of the Counſellours knowne papiſts and correſpondents with *Rome*, (as their Letters thereafter found with the Pope did prove) might not vote at the Counſell Table in the cauſes of Miniſters, That the Citizens baniſhed out of *Edinburgh* without the allegeance of any cauſe might be returned to their houſes. This moſt innocent Petition was ſent to his Majeſtie by two noble men, *Lindſay* and *Forbes*, two Barons, *Bargeny* and *Blachan*, and two Miniſters, Maſter *Robert Bruce*, and Maſter *William Watſon*. Maſter *Robert Bruce* did ſpeake to his Majeſtie ſo humbly and with ſo much reaſon, that he gave no offence, but when his Majeſtie did enquire at the Noblemen how they durſt

conveene without his expreſſe warrant; *Lindſay*, by kind a zealous Spirit, but ever moſt Loyall, being in paſſion at this, queſtion, that when their Lives and Religion (as they conceaved) were in extreame and preſent hazard, they ſhould be quarrelled for meeting in a peaceable manner, only to draw a modeſt ſupplication, did ſay, that they durſt doe more then meet, to ſupplicate; with theſe words his Majeſtie was offended, but not in that degree as to caſt downe his countenance on the Noble man therefore; only he went away without giving any anſwer to their petition.

What here you add of your owne, of craving juſtice againſt the Counſellors, of laying hold upon ſome of their garments, all is groſly falſe even *Spotſwood* being Judge; who had much better reaſon to know the Acts of that day then you, who then was ſcarce borne, but he was one of the moſt diligent of all the company, to arme himſelfe and all others he could, eſpecially his patron *Tarſichen*.

The Meſſengers returning to them that ſent them, reported the matter as it was, that his Majeſtie had not deigned them with any anſwer at all, this did much increaſe the feare of the whole company, while they are in conſultation what to doe, ſome without the doors ſuborned by the malecontent Courtiers did cry, that *Huntly* and the Popiſh Lords were comming upon them to make a maſſacre: Maſter *Robert Bruce* did what he was able to compoſe the people, but amazement had ſtopped their eares, all got to their Arms, in which they did not continue a full half houre: for before the Sermon ended it behoved to be nere ten, and before they could conveene, draw up their ſupplication, goe to the King and returne, doubtles it was more then eleven, and long before twelve all the tumult was quieted, the King on foot went downe the ſtreets in peace, to his dinner in the Abby, and came up againe to Counſell, before two of the clocke, no violence at all was ſo much as offered to any man. The people being frighted, and apprehending upon very probable grounds a preſent ſurpriſe of their towne and perſons, run to their Arms for defence, but finding no Enemie to appeare, preſently they laid aſide their weapons without any compulſion either from the

Hammer-

Hammer men or any other: for ſuch a poore reſiſtance, as all their oppoſits were able then to have made, could have ſaved no man out of their hand, to whom they had intended any reall harme. No tumult in the world was ever more harmeles in the effects, nor more innocent in the cauſes, if you conſider all thoſe who did openly act therein.

What you ſpeake of a Letter to *Hamilton*, you are extreamely malitious therein: when you have told us two great untruths, firſt that the reſult of the Miniſters deliberation was to goe to armes: Secondly that they did conclude to pull the Counſellours from His Majeſties ſide, in both which, *Spotſwood* who was preſent at all theſe Counſells is againſt you; you will contradict him in this third alſo: for he tells us that there was no word of any Letter to any man that day of the tumult: but to morrow, when at Court their was nothing heard, but hanging of Miniſters and Citizens, heading of Noblemen and Barons, razeing of the Towne of *Edinburgh*, and plowing of it to be ſowen with Salt: then ſome Letters were appointed to be ſent to *Hamilton*, *Bacleugh* and others to come and countenance their Brethren, that Religion might not be ruined, this was all the direction as your Author ſetts it downe. He ſays indeed that Maſter *Robert Bruce* wrot ſome more to my Lord *Hamilton*, but who dare truſt a Prelates word when his deſigne is to diſgrace his enemy, or if all were true, what does the Letter of any particular Miniſter concerne the Church of *Scotland* or the Generall Aſſembly.

This was the 17. day of *December*, the Courtiers and Prelaticall faction did exaggerate it to the moſt horrid rebellion that ever was upon the earth, but how unjuſtly, Queen *Elizabeth* by her wiſe Letters, recorded by *Spotſwood*, does well declare. It was indeed a moſt ſad day to all the Godly; but moſt joyfull to all their enemies; for as they did inſolently but too truly boaſt, it paved them a very faire way, to bring Prerogative to its Throne, yea to ſet it up upon the higheſt pinacle of power they could deſire, and withall to make Biſhops get upon their kicking horſe, which before would never receave them; It put into the hand of the Prince a facility without any hazard

of

of future reſiſtance, to doe in the Church and State what ever ſeemed good in his eyes. Such advantages are exceeding ſweet in the mouth, and are ſwallowed downe with a great deale of greedineſſe by thoſe who long have been lying in waite to catch them; but ere all bee done, they become in the belly wormwood and gall, as the royall family to our griefe, but the Prelates and Malignant Courtiers to our good enough liking, doe feele this day.

Mr. *Iames Melvil* vindicated from aſſiſting of *Bothuel* againſt the King.

Wee are come at laſt to the end of your Calumnious ſtories, which your ſelfe upon very good reaſon confeſſeth to be weariſome. But yet before you can be drawne off, you muſt hint at on another as falſe and malicious as any of the former. Your Author in this, and the reſt of your narrations, is only *Spotſwood*, whom in this wicked fable, though you and he both would ſweare it, no intelligent Scotſman would beleeve.

Who will believe that Maſter *James Melvil*, a moſt gracious and wiſe man very much in favour with the King, more then any of thoſe who then were hunting after Biſhopricks; that this faithfull man having in his hands the religious almes and charitable contribution of the Country, to the diſtreſſed towne of *Geneva*, the City in the whole world, which *Scotland* at that time loved beſt, ſhould ſend it to the Earle *Bothwell* to raiſe an Army againſt the King at a time when his Majeſtie was in ſo good tearmes with the Church as ever either after or before: when the Towne of *Edinborough*, was moſt ready for one word of the Kings mouth to run out preſently with him and fight with *Bothwell*, who then was much hated by all the godly for his adulteries and other perſonall crimes, and was knowne to bee confederate with the popiſh Lords againſt the Church, and who lately in the eighty eight, had been a forward perſwader to invade *England* by Land, as the Spaniards did by Sea that ſuch a man ſhould be aſſiſted againſt the King and Town of *Edinborough*, by any moneys much leſſe by the almes gathered for *Geneva*, and that al this ſhould be done by Maſter *Iames Melvil*, is ſuch a calumnie, as Satan could not fancie a falſer. but a farre more fooliſh lyar then either you or *Spotſwood*, might eaſily have contrived a more probable

probable fable, this is like the Tale of *Beza's* converſion to poperie, of *Calvins* conſultation to change the Sabbath day; of *Luthers* conference with the Devill.

When you have over-wearied both your ſelfe and us, you will yet adde as a mantiſſa and appendix, two other points, firſt you ſet down the twelve Articles of our Creed. Since you are ſo good at the confeſſing of your Neighbours, I would gladly know what your own faith may be: what you aſcribe here to us, ye doe it without any ground, either of reaſon or Authoritie: your ſimple aſſertions muſt be the very Articles of your Creed. Some yeares agoe we did ſee a book called *Ladenſium Autocatasriſis*, wherein by formall and expreſſe teſtimonies, not the articles of your faith, for you are an avowed paucifidian, but ſuch opinions as you and your companions did preach and print, are ſet down at large. Wherein it was demonſtrate, that you and your boſome friends in *Aberdeen* and *Edinburgh*, did hold groſſer Arminianiſme, Popery and Tiranny then the worſt of the Canterburians in *England*: alſo in the beginning of this Treatiſe, we did ſee under your owne hand, ſuch a confeſſion of your faith, as few of the moſt malignant of your party will have the impudence to ſubſcribe it with you.

P. 53. 54. A Declaration upon all the 12. Articles imputed to us.

But be your faith what it may, for it is like that times and occaſions may make you hide or open, yea, vary and change, as you find it moſt convenient for your purpoſe: I am content freely to tell you my mind, in all theſe Articles (as you ſtile them) of our Creed. I never heard of the firſt, but in your Pamphlet; no Presbiterian ever dreamed of any neceſſity, to change the government of the State, that it might be conforme to the Church; but many Epiſcopall and all Eraſtians doe hold the government of the Church to bee a matter of ſo indifferent arbitrary and changeable a nature, that it may well comply, and ought to be conformed to the model of every State wherein it requires to be entertained. The true tenet of all approved among us, ſo farre as I know is, that the government of the Church and State are two really diſtinct policies, both ordained of God, which without his diſpleaſure may not bee confounded, nor ought not to encroach one upon another.

That the wrath of God will be on that Church, and on theſe Church-men, who for any advantage they apprehend, can come either to the Church, or to themſelves, will go to trouble or change any civil State, be it Monarchy, Ariſtocracie, Democracy, or what ever els, which by the juſt lawes of any people is ſetled in a Land; on the other ſide that God will be angry with every State, and all thoſe Stateſmen who for the advancement of their owne, or the States intereſt, will goe to impede, trouble, or change that government of the Church, which Chriſt in his Teſtament has left to his ſervants unto his ſecond comming.

For the ſecond we doe maintaine a parity among Miniſters, counting it an Antichriſtian ambition for any one, to make himſelfe Lord Biſhop over the reſt, but this is farre from any Democracy, for wee put all the Miniſters of a Kingdome under the juriſdiction of a Nationall Aſſembly, the rules whereof uſe to be ſo juſt and exact, that where they are reverenced, there is no danger of any popular confuſion, much leſſe then where Epiſcopall either Tiranny, or Obligarchy does prevaile.

For the third to our Conſiſtories we give no Independent power, theſe with us are all ſubordinate to Claſſicall Presbiteries, and to our Nationall Aſſemblies wee give no power to meddle with any temporall things at all, nor any Legiſlative power about things ſpirituall. When they have paſt their Votes upon a matter ſpirituall according to the rules of the word of God. If any Law or civill Sanction bee needfull, they ſupplicate the Magiſtrate whom they never preſume to command to be an executioner of their Decrees, (theſe be but your calumnies) only they intreat him to make ſuch Laws as hee finds the equity of the matter in his own conſcience to require. You indeed profeſſe an inthronization of Biſhops, and give to them not only a directive power over the King, but an authoritative to excommunicate him, and if he to ſave his Crowne will be content that his Parliaments doe with your Thrones and Myters what they thinke expedient; you print to the world, that this ſhall bring a remedileſſe and perpetuall

perpetuall ruine both on the King and his people, themſelves and their poſterities.

For the fourth, the Lawes of *Scotland* allow to the Generall Aſſembly a power to Judge of all divine truths and hereſies, ſo that if they find popiſh, Epiſcopall or what ever Errours eſtabliſhed by Acts of Parliament, yet they are authorized to proceed to give their ſentence from the word of God, not of the Law, but of the Errour, to which Churchmen in their ignorance have procured a Sanction; as for the Law, the Parliament when they ſit, take it into their owne conſideration; never any Aſſembly of the reformed Church, dealt either with Prince or Parliament, for the reclaiming of a Law otherwiſe then by humble ſupplication. What you ſpeake of a corrective power, the Church of *Scotland* did ever diſclaime it, all compulſion by outward inconvenients they remitted ever to the State. As for the cenſures of the Church, no faction ever has been more prodigall of them both in doctrine and practiſe, then you and your gracious Brethren the Prelats.

For the fifth, we exeem no Miniſter who preaches Treaſon, from the cogniſance and puniſhment of the Magiſtrate, only by the Laws of our Kingdome, the judgement of Miniſters doctrine in the firſt inſtance, belongs to the Eccleſiaſtich Judicatory.

For the ſixth, we pretend no power to make the Magiſtrate adde the civill Sanction to any of our Aſſemblies Decrees, further then his own conſcience, the Juſtice of the thing, the former Laws of the Land, the humble and earneſt deſire of the Subjects does plead for: but you, before your Tippets and Rotchets be laid aſide, will permit three Kingdomes to be conſumed with fire and ſword, without any remedy: unleſſe your thrones may bee re-eſtabliſhed, King and people muſt be deſtroyed for ever; And this you tell us muſt be, and ſhall be, but in many things wee have found you falſe prophets, and feare not your cauſeleſſe curſes.

For the ſeventh, we maintain no power of the Church to reforme and preſerve Religion, but ſuch as does well conſiſt

with that duty which God has laid upon the Magiſtrate, both for the reformation of Religion, and preſervation of it when it is reformed.

For the eight, wee maintaine that the ſins of the Magiſtrate does not excuſe the people for their neglect of any duty that God has laid upon them, and when Superiours are reſolved to live and dye in Idolatrie, we thinke that every inferiour Magiſtrate, and every perſon is obliged to keepe himſelfe free of corruption, and ſo farre as he is able, to reforme his owne ſoule, but not to be a publick reformer of a Country without a lawfull calling.

For the ninth, all the Covenants of our Land are warranted by Acts of Parliament, and how ever by the miſinformation of Prelats, the King for a time judged them illegall, yet at laſt he found them juſt and neceſſary, according to the Laws and Cuſtomes of the Kingdome; wee indeed doe maintaine, when a handfull of wicked Prelats doe ſeduce a Prince to deſtroy himſelfe and whole Kingdomes, that in that caſe it is lawfull for the Nobles and States of a Land to ſtand upon their guard, and wee cannot ſubſcribe to theſe prime fundamentall Articles of your faith, That the Supremacie of *Britaine* is ſo farre exalted above all Law divine and humane, that the Parliaments of both Kingdomes for their moſt neceſſary defenſive Armes, are to be condemned by God and all men, for Traitors and Rebels, yet your good friends, the Idolatrous murtherers of *Ireland*, muſt be regiſtred to poſterity for good Catholick ſubjects. No marvell you beleeve all this, when you profeſſe your advice to all Princes, rather to admit of the worſt whordomes of *Rome*, the very Jeſuitiſme of *Raviliack* and *Faux*, then of the Presbiteriall government. Behold whither deſpite may carry the ſpirit of an excommunicate Prelate.

For the tenth, our Aſſemblies meddle not with queſtions of State, if the originall of royalty be ſo from heaven, that men on earth had never any hand in making of a King: if in any immaginable caſe, a King be cenſurable, ſuch queſtions were never propoſed ſo much as for debate in any Aſſembly of *Scotland*; unhappy Biſhops, who muſt needs

prophane

prophane the Crowns of Kings, by making their Soveraignty and myſterious Prerogatives, their ordinary quodlibets to be toſſed as Tennis balls in their common diſcourſe, Sermons and Pamphets. It was a very unhappy day for the Kings of *Britaine*, when the feet of Prelats got firſt leave to touch the threſhold of the Court, and their evill eyes to behold the Jewels of the Crown, or their foule hands to touch the hemme of the royall Robes: ſuch infauſt harppies polute all things though moſt ſacred, to which they approach.

For the eleventh, though it never came to be ſcanned in any Aſſembly, yet I know no honeſt man of *Scotland* that makes queſtion of the thing. The King and Parliament has inacted the lawfulneſſe of our late defenſive Armes; but the Acts of that Parliament are not much to your mind, for they caſt you out of your native Country, as a prime incendiary unfit to breath more in that Aire.

The twelfth is, but to make up the number, being the ſame with the former.

The concluſion of your Articles, is but a malicious railing invective, very ſutable to your mouth: it's contrary to reaſon and experience, as oft wee have ſaid before, but you cannot ſpare Tauttologies.

The ſecond part of your Appendix, is your Poſtſcript; wherein you make a large muſter of your Epiſcopall Territories, and tell us that the major part of the reformed Churches in Chriſtendome, doe retaine Epiſcopacie alſo that the removall thereof from *England*, is the fountaine of all our preſent Sects: you may know that all our Hereſies and Sects, did breed under the wings of Epiſcopacie, the reaſon why now they appeare ſo thick in publick, is not the removall of Epiſcopacie, but the retarding of Preſbyteriall government, and the plague of our too too long anarchie. *P.55.56.* No ſhadow of Epiſcopacie remaines in any well reformed Church.

That your Epiſcopacie is to be found in any reformed Church, is a great untruth, we grant it is to be ſeen in your Eaſterne and Weſterne Churches, the firſt of your Catalogue: but you would ſpeake a little more plainly, that

people may understand your mind, what Westerne Church is this that you propone unto us for a patterne of Episcopacy? is it any other then the good old Mother Church of *Rome*, which many of you cry up for so true a Church, that all Protestants are Shismaticks, for their needlesse separation there-from, and that among Princes those are most happy, who shall heale that breach, and once againe make us all to be one: under our holy Father the Pope, the first Bishop of Christendome, whom all the Bishops in *Britaine*, and in the whole world, ought by a good Ecclesiastick right, to reverence as the first Patriarch, the constant moderator of all Oecumenick Counsells.

Your Easterne Churches are those of *Greece* and *Asia*, whose corruptions, albeit not like to these of *Rome*, yet are so many and grosse, as none, but such as you will propone them for patternes of imitation.

In the rest of your Catalogue you are pleased to play the Herauld and Cosmographer, of purpose to terrifie simple people, by the many names of your large territories. You know the world scornes the Rodomontades of *Spain*, their King must not be stiled as his neighbours of *France*, and great *Britaine:* but he will be called the King of *Castile*, the King of *Arragon*, the King of *Portugall*, the King of *Leon*, and a large *&* *cetera* of many Kingdomes, yet all in *Spaine*. Might you not have said that Episcopacie was continued in all the Lutheran Churches of *Germany*, which will not make the third part of that Country, deducing the Calvinists and Papists.

In your great vanity you reckon up the Earldome of *Henneberg*, *Lenning*, and these that follow to the number of Thirteene, as if they were all great, and considerable Provinces: and yet put them all together, they will scarce make up one fifth part of some English shires.

But for the matter, are the Lutheran Churches esteemed by any well advised Protestants the best reformed, whereof our Covenant speaks; It seems, the worse Churches be reformed you like them the better, for they are so much neerer to your best beloved in *Rome*, but true Covenanters are not of your mind.

Further

Further, what you ſpeake of the Lutheran Churches is altogether falſe: That in *Germany*, or any where elſe among Proteſtants, any thing which you call Epiſcopacie is to be found, I marvell if you ſhould beleeve it: for I pray where-ever, except in *England*, did any Proteſtants ſpoile all Paſtors of all power, both of Ordination and Juriſdiction, to put it in the hand of one Prelat: to be exerciſed either by himſelfe, or by any depute Eccleſiaſtick, or civill, as he thought fitteſt.

The Dutch Superintendens are as like to Engliſh Biſhops, as an Emperour in the dayes of *Fabius Maximus*, when the Senate ruled all, to an Emperour in the dayes of *Tiberius* or *Nero*, when an abſolute Prince, I will not ſay a Tirant, did governe all at his pleaſure. The name is one, but the things are eſſentially different, and ſo farre diſtant as the Eaſt is from the Weſt.

The Dutch Superintendents are very farre from the Engliſh Biſhops.

While you caſt your ſelfe upon the Smectymnians, and will ſtill raile upon our Covenant, we deſiderate your pietty, but while you appeale to *Calvin* and *Beza* for your Epiſcopacie, we miſſe your Common ſence. All the Epiſcopacie, which ever you had, or ever aimed at, was moſt immoderate, and the moſt moderate Epiſcopacie that can be conceived, is a meere human invention, which has no ground at all in the word of God; which in all times and places has proved unhappy to the Church, and which at this time is talked of by ſome for no other end, but to be a new beginning and ſtep to ſuch a Prelacie as may be ſerviceable to the Prince as before, for the advanceing of his Prerogative in Church and State, above all Law and reaſon. How ridiculous is it to heare moſt immoderate ſpirits talke of moderation: to ſpeake of a moderate Epiſcopacie, a moderate Popedome, a moderate Tyranny, is to tell us of a chaſt Bordell, an honeſt couſinage, a meeke murther, and ſuch like repugnancies: men now are no more childiſh to be couzened by your diſtinctions out of their Covenant.

FINIS.

Good Reader,

BEE intreated to pardon ſundry literall faults, and many miſpunctations, and ſome other groſſer typographicall faults which corrupt the ſence.

An Answer to the Declaration.

AS Every paſſion when too much ſtirred, has a power to ſend up vapours and miſts for darkning the light of the minde, ſo eſpecially anger and malice doe dazle and blinde the eye of reaſon: Too much wrath deveſts men ſo farre of underſtanding, as to make them take up ſuch *Armes* againſt an Enemy, which cannot hurt him, but fail not to pierce themſelves and their beſt friends with dangerous wounds.

The oppoſites of Presbyteriall government (be they Independents, or Eraſtians, or who ever) when after all other devices, they thinke fit for the helpe of their cauſe, to reprint here, and put in the hand of people, the old and forgotten calumnies formerly invented, and ſpread, by the Scots excommunicate Prelates, by ſuch weapons they will not be able to effect what they intend; yet by ſuch practiſes, they cannot faile (in the heart of intelligent beholders) to wound their owne reputation, proclaiming either groſſe ignorance, or very malicious fraud in this their offer to abuſe the ſimplicity of people, with writs, which are fraughted with moſt notorious lyes.

The oppoſites of Presbytery blinded with malice, have hurt themſelves and no other, by the reprinting of this Declaration.

Concerning the Title; A Declaration made by King James in *Scotland*: They who have acquaintance with the Scots affaires of that time, doe know this writ to have no more relation unto King James, then the late *large Declaration* had to King Charles; both carry the name of Kings, but the ſpecious pretence of a royal title was not able to ſave the true Authors of either, from the juſt cenſure which they deſerved, by ſuch falſe and malicious ſlandering of their Mother-Church and native Country. Doctor *Balcanquall*, for his wicked ſervice in penning that large Declaration, in King Charle's name, was condemned as a Lyar, and Incendiary, and ſo ſtands regiſtred, both in that generall

This writ of *Adamſons* is paralell to *Balcanquals* large Declaration.

Assembly [a] and Parliament of *Scotland* [b], which King CHARLES by the advice of his Houses here, did lately ratifie [c].

That Bishop *Adamson*, for the like disservice in King *James* pretended Declaration, does not also remaine in the Records of the Assemblies and Parliaments of *Scotland*, stigmatized with the same Note of perpetuall infamy, nothing impeded, but his publicke Declaration of repentance.

Adamson confesseth himself to be the Author.

That King *James*, notwithstanding of all his favour to Episcopacy, was neither the Author nor approver of this Declaration, I demonstrate thus: First, Master *Patricke Adamson*, upon his death-bed, put it under his hand with a solemn Oath, that he himselfe was the Author of that Wryt, which hee had drawne by the direction of the Chancellour and Secretary (two very wicked Courtiers) [d] contrary to the minde of the King.[o] Secondly, when the Commissioners of the generall Assembly, the very next yeere at the Parliament of *Lithgow*, did complaine to the King, of the many false

[o] King *James* did disclaim it

[a] The *Generall Assembly at* Edinburgh, 1639. p. 9. *the Assembly resenting the great dishonour done to God, our King, this Church, and whole Kingdome, by the Book called* A larg Declaration, *have collected some amongst many, of its false, grosse and absurd passages. They did supplicate to have* Doctor Balcanquall, *the knowne Author cited, for exemplary punishment.* [b] *The second Parliament of King* Charles, p. 29. *the Booke called* A large Declaration *was found to be full of lyes and known untruths, and therefore the Parliament ordaines the Authors and spreaders thereof to be most severely punished, to discourage all such underminers of his Majesties throne, and abusers of his royall name, by prefixing the same to such scandalous and dishonourable Treatises*, ibi. p. 126. *the Act against the five incendiaries* Doctor Walter Balcanquall, &c.

[c] *Second Parliament of King* Charles, p. 72. *whereunto it was answered by the* English *Commissioners, that his Majesty doth in the name of a King promise to publish the said Acts, as is above specified.*

[d] *The recantation of* Patrick Adamson, *Bishop of St.* Andrewes; *Whereas I am burdened to be the setter forth of the Booke called the* Kings Declaration; *wherein the whole order of the Church is condemned and traduced; I protest before God that I was commanded to*

and

write the same, by the Chancellour for the time, but chiefly by the Secretary, another great Courtier.

[e] *These animadversions and supplications being presented to his Majestie by the Ministers, the King tooke paines himselfe, by the space of foure and twenty houres, to take him to his Cabinet, and with his owne hand, both wrote and penned this Declaration following, word by word.* Ibid. *the Bishop of* St. Andrewes *his own Declaration, &c.*

[f] *Twelfth Parli. of King* James *the* 6. 1592. *Act* 1. *our Soveraigne Lord and Estates of this present Parliament, ratifies and approves the generall Assembly appointed by the said Kirke, and declares that it shall be lawfull to the Kirk and Ministers every yeere at the least, and ofter pro re nata, as occasion and necessity shall require, to hold and keepe generall Assemblies, and also ratifies and approves the Synodall and Provinciall Assemblies, to be holden by the said Kirk and Ministers, twice every yeere, as they have beene and are presently in use to doe, within every Province of this Realm; as also ratifies and approves the Presbyteries and particular Sessions appointed by the said Kirke, with the whole Jurisdiction and discipline of the same Kirke agreed upon by his Majestie in conference had by his Highnesse with certaine of the Ministers conveened to that effect: also determines and declares the said* and wicked aspersions of that Declaration. His Majesty did take such notice of their grievances, that with his owne hand he did write a new Declaration, much differing from the former, which he told them was not his, but the Archbishops [e].

Thirdly, the Acts of Parliament upon which this Declaration is grounded, and which it doth interpret, were all annulled some few years thereafter; and the Presbiterian government, which this writtendeth to disgrace, was compleatly set up by the King, and States of Parliament, to the great joy of the whole Land [f].

What ever in it is contrary to Presbytery is condemned by posterior Parliaments.

More needs not be said for the confounding and filling with shame the faces of them, who in the reprinting of this Pamphlet could have no other intention, but to grieve and disgrace them, whom by word they call Brethren; but in heart and workes, they evidently maligne as enemies, without any cause. *Adamson* (the true Father) confesseth it to be a Bastard, and supposititious birth wholly compосed of lyes and slanders.

No more is needfull for a satisfactory Answer.

King *James* disclaimes it, and puts a new Declaration in its place; the States of Parliament in King *James* his presence, and with his open allowance, abolished the Acts whereupon it was founded; rooting out Episcopacy, which it doth plant, and building up Presbyteries and Synods, which it professeth to demolish.

The points of the wryt.

Yet for more abundant satisfaction, let us consider its particular parts: It containes first a Preface: Secondly, an explanation of foure Acts of the Parliament at *Edinbrough*, 1584. Thirdly, an enumeration of some foureteene intentions ascribed to the King.

Pag. 1. It is hazardous for a Prince to take upon himself the faults of his Officers.

In the Preface, there is a narrative of the causes of the subsequent Declaration; all resolves upon the alledged Lyes of some evill affected persons, labouring to impaire his Majesties honour and fame: Upon this we remark that the late unhappy tricke of Courtiers and Prelates, is no lesse ancient then this Declaration; it was the ordinary customs of these ungrate and imprudent men, to charge the backe of the King with their owne faults; the bones of Kings are supposed by Sycophants to be so strong, that no burden is able to bow, much lesse to breake them. As King *Charles* has ever been too ready and willing to take upon himselfe the guilt

Assemblies, Presbiteries and Sessions, their jurisdiction and discipline, to be in all times comming most just and good, notwithstanding of whatsomever Statutes, Acts, Canons civill or municipall Lawes, made in the contrary. Item, the Kings Majestie and Estates declares, that the 129. *Act of the Parliament holden at* Edinbrough, *the* 22. *of May* 1584. *shall no wayes be prejudiciall, nor derogate any thing to the priviledge that God has given to the Spirituall Officers in the Kirke, concerning heads of Religion, matters of Heresie, Excommunication, collation, deprivation of Ministers, or any such like essentiall Censures, specially grounded and having warrant of the Word of God. Also abrogates, Cassis and Annuls, the Act of the same Parliament* 1584. *yeere, granting Commission to Bishops and other Judges constitute in Ecclesiasticall causes to receive his Highnesse Presentations to Benefices, to give collation hereupon, and to put order in all Ecclesiasticall causes; his Majestie and Estates declares this Act to be expired, and in time comming to be null; and therefore ordains all Presentations to be directed to the particular Presbiteries.*

guilt of his ſervants, upon what ever hazard; the ſame was his Fathers condition, yet with this difference, King *James* was willing to beare his Servants burdens, till he found they pinched, but ſo ſoone as they began to preſſe him any thing ſore, he was ſo wiſe and juſt to himſelfe and others, that he laid them alwayesover upon the neck of thoſe whom in reaſon it concerned to beare them.

About that time, the fame of Kings *James* his Learning, Piety, and perſonall vertues did floriſh at home and abroad; the wel-affected, who chiefly are aymed at, were ſo far from impairing his perſonall reputation, that in their very cenſure of this Declaration, they give unto him an excellent teſtimony g. But at that ſame time, his Court was ſo exceedingly corrupted, that the good men in the whole Iſle, both *Engliſh* and *Scots* did lament it; Captain *James Stuart* by his cunning crept up to be Chancellour, became ſo inſolent a Tyrant, that neither the greateſt nor the moſt innocent had ſecurity either of their life or Eſtate h. The beſt Miniſters were forced to leave the Kingdome. The Duke of *Lennox*, whoſe power with the King was greateſt, had lately come over from the *Guiſians* in *France*, though the man himſelf was of a very good and meeke nature, yet he had his inſtructions and dependance from the Authors and inſtruments of the *French* Maſſacres; he made it his worke to further the intereſt of *France*, to the prejudice of *England*: he correſponded with the *French* and *Scots* Traffiquers for Queene *Maries* deliverance out of priſon; yea,

The people had an high eſteeme of Ki. *Iames* his vertues.

g Vide *An Anſwer to the Declaration.*

Their indignation was onely againſt the Court, and upon juſt grounds.

h Spotſwoods *Hiſtory*, lib. 6, p. 179. *veere* 1584. *this ſeverity was univerſally diſliked, but that which ſhortly enſued, was much more hatefull! Ibid.* Maines *and* Drumwhaſſill *were hanged the ſame day in the publick ſtreet of* Edenborough, *the Gentlemens caſe was much pitied,* Maines *his caſe eſpecially; all that were preſent, in their hearts did pronounce him innocent; theſe cruell and rigorous proceedings cauſed ſuch a feare, as all familiar ſociety was in a manner left, no man knowing to whom he might ſafely ſpeake:* Arran *in the meane time went on, drawing into his owne hand the managing of affairs, for he would be ſole and ſupream over all. Ibid.* p. 177. *Maſter* Andrew Pullert, *Maſter* Patrick Galloway, *Maſter*

for her returne to the throne of *Scotland* in an aſſociation with her Son [k]. Theſe things which all the Writers of that time do record, did ſo fill the hearts of all good people with feares, for changes both of Religion and Lawes, that neither Engliſh nor Scots did ſpare to expreſſe them in their ordinary diſcourſes [l]. Unto this frightment of the people, the Acts of Parliament, procured by the forenamed Maſters of the Court, did much adde; for the allaying whereof, this Declaration was penned, but to no purpoſe, as *Spotſwood* himſelf tels us [m].

James Carmichal *Miniſters, were denounced Rebels, and fled into* England, *Maſter* Andrew Hay *compeered, and nothing being qualified againſt him, was upon ſuſpition confined to the North; the Miniſters ſent Maſter* David Lindſay *to the King, with their ſupplication, but* Arran *ſent him priſoner to* Blackneſſe, *where he was detained forty ſeven weeks: The Miniſters of* Edenborough *hearing of this, forſook their charge and fled into* England, *ſo as* Edenbrugh *was left without any Preachers; Maſter* Robert Pont *likewiſe flying, was denounced Rebell.*

[k] The Collection, *Sir* Eſme Stuart *was ſent by* Queen Mother of France *and the* Guiſians *to ſeduce the young King, to ſubvert Religion, violate the amity between* England *and* Scotland, *to procure an invaſion for the delivery of the Queen of Scots then in captivity, to make the King content to be aſſociate with her in the govenment, to alienate his heart from the Miniſtry: he had his continuall intelligence and inſtructions from* France.

[l] Vide ſupra [h].

[m] Spotſwoods *Story*, lib. 6. p. 177. *This Declaration gave not much ſatisfaction, ſo great was the diſcontent.*

For no ſatisfaction was ever taken, till both the Duke, Chancellour, Secretary and Archbiſhop *Adamſon* were baniſhed the Court, and the acts of Parliament of their invention aboliſhed as noxious and evill.

There was never any Warrant for Printing of this Writ.

What is here ſaid of King *James* his command to publiſh this Declaration, I do not find it verified in any Regiſter, either of the Church or Kingdome of *Scotland* that hath fallen in my hand; but if any ſuch command did come from him at that time of his minority and great tentation, through the continuall

tinuall evill offices of them that then managed his Counſels, it were a caſe no more ſtrange then theſe which often ſince we have ſeen in both Kingdomes: many Proclamations and Declarations by falſe and wicked informations, have been drawne from King *James* and King *Charles*, and many other Princes, which upon better adviſement have been called in and buried; the Proclamation concerning ſports and playes upon the Sabbath, the Service-Book and Book of Canons, the Declarations of the Rebellion of the Parliaments of both Kingdomes, we all know. For my part, I love not to rake out of the grave, the carcaſes of theſe buried Writs, for the infamy of the Prince, or the prejudice of the Subject.

We ſhall ſay no more to the preface, come to the interpretation of theſe offenſive Acts of that Parliament at *Edenburgh*, 1584. As for the firſt Act, the explanation here made upon it did no way remove its offence, for both the Act and its explanation attribute to the Miniſters only the adminiſtation of the Word and Sacraments, without any mention at all of any diſcipline; this ſeems to have been one chiefe cauſe why the worſhipfull Licenſer was preſſed with ſo much importunity, to give his *Imprimatur* to this Writ, as if this paſſage had been a demonſtration of King *James* his Eraſtianiſme; but let the world take notice of the groſſeneſſe of this miſtake by this ſhort information. Pag 2.

The Commiſſioners of the generall Aſſembly, were required by his Majeſty at the Parliament of *Lithgou*, 1585. to give him in the grounds of their grievances againſt the Acts of the Parliament at *Edenbrugh*, 1584. here explained [n]: In their Animadverſion upon the Act now in hand, they did ſhew his Majeſty that the power of Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction and Church-Cenſures, did belong to them by divine right, no leſſe then the power of preaching the Word, and Celebrating the Sacraments [o]. Alſo King *James* was far from Eraſtianiſme.

[n] Collection, *Maſter* Andrew Melvill *had been plaine with the King divers dayes; at length the King deſired the Miniſters to exhibit in writ, what exceptions they had againſt the Parliament held in* Anno 1584. *whereupon they exhibit to the King theſe animadverſions following.*

[o] Animadverſions: *The power of the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, conſiſteth not onely in*

Alſo that the Lawes of the Kingdome, ever ſince the Reformation, did ratifie that their right [p]; and that hitherto they had bin in peaceable poſſeſſiō thereof [q]: The King in his Reply to this animadverſion, does not deny any of theſe Alleageances. Yea, he declares under his hand, that he did not intend to take from Church Officers any part of the Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction, but onely ſo to regulate the execution of Diſcipline, that ſome part thereof might be put in the hand of Prelates, this was the onely point in controverſie [r]: Whence it appeares, how far his Majeſty was from all Eraſtianiſme, though his affection to prelacy at that time was too great, which yet he changed quickly thereafter as we ſhall ſee anon.

preaching and adminiſtration of the Sacraments but alſo in juriſdiction and removing of offences out of the Kirk of God, and excommunication of the diſobedient, to be pronounced by theſe that are officers of the Church: our warrants out of the Word of God, for this part of the liberty of the Church we are to bring forth when your Majeſty pleaſeth.

[p] Ibid. *This Act reſtricted the liberty granted by other Acts of Parliament of before, concerning diſcipline and correction of manners, which were eſtabliſhed by a Law in the firſt yeer of your Majeſties Reigne.*

[q] Ibid. *There is a ſpirituall juriſdiction, whereof the Office-bearers within the Kirk in this Realm, have been in peaceable poſſeſſion and uſe theſe twenty four yeer by paſt, whereof followed no trouble, but great quietneſſe in the Kirke and Commonwealth.*

[r] *The Kings Declaration, the firſt Act maketh onely mention of the preaching of the Word & Sacraments, not thereby to abrogate any good further policy and juriſdiction in the Kirke, but allanerly to remit a part thereof to the Acts enſuing, and the moſt which as yet are not agreed upon nor concluded, I intend God willing, to cauſe to be perfected by a godly generall Aſſembly.*

The ſum of the next Paragraph.

The explanation of the ſecond Act, conſiſts of a Narrative and Ordinance builded thereupon: the Narrative has the alledged misbehaviours of ſome Miniſters; Maſter *Andrew Melvile* alone is named, as joyning in conſpiracies with Rebels againſt the King, as Preaching ſeditious Doctrine, and diſclaiming the King and Counſell of State, for his Judges,

Judges. The Ordinance is concerning the Kings Supremacy; divers things are here jumbled together confusedly and odiously, to these two purposes, by the Abbot of *Dunfermeling* (Secretary for the time) the Penner of this passage, as *Adamson* the writer of the rest confesseth [r].

[r] Adamsons *recantation*, *The Secretary himselfe penned the second Act of Parliament concerning the power of Judicatories to be absolutely in the King; and that it should not be lawfull for any Subject to reclame from the same, under the penalty of the Act, which I suppose was treason.*

Concerning the first, Master *Andrew Melvils* case, the Narrative is most untrue, as I shall make good by undeniable evidence. Master *Melvil* was an excellent Divine, the principall professour of Divinity in the University first of *Glasgow*, and then of S. *Andrewes*, full of piety, eloquence and learning of all sorts; so eminent in zeale for the truth, that his remembrance is yet very precious, not in *Scotland* alone, but in other reformed Churches; his heroicke courage made him an eye-sore to the Masters of the Court, whose wickednesse he and his Schollars, according to their place and duty, did masculously oppose. From this it was, and nothing else, that an Accusation was invented against him, as for seditious and treasonable words against the Kings Mother Queen *Mary*, then prisoner in *England*.

Master *Melvill* his worth.

When he came to his Answer upon his solemne Oath, he denied his Charge; [t] and for his cleering, he produced three famous testificats; the first under the hand of all the Masters and Regents of the University; the second under the hand of all the Magistrates and Common counsell of Saint *Andrewes*; the third under the hands of the whole Classicall Presbytery of the bounds, who all were his frequent hearers, and the most

Cleer grounds for his justification.

[t] The Collection: *I Master Andrew Melvill protest before God and his elect Angels, that I spoke nothing in that Sermon, or any other Sermon made by me, tending to the slander or dishonour of the Kings Majesty, my Sovereigne, any wayes, but in the contrary, exhorted always all his highnesse Subjects to obedience and reverence of his Majesty, whom God in his mercy hath placed lawfull King and supream Magistrate in the Civill government of the Country,*

moſt of them had been preſent at the challenged Sermon, all of them did teſtifie the Charge to be a vile calumny, and that he had ſpoken no ſuch words as were alleaged; w alſo that both in his Pulpit and Chaire and ordinary diſcouſe, it was his cuſtome to preſſe ſo much loyalty and obedience, as any duty did require x.

The witneſſe brought in againſt him did depoſe nothing to his prejudice, though the Chancellour, Captaine *James*, his ſpightfull enemy did ſit in the Counſell as his Judge.

Yea, if *Spotſwood* may be truſted, he was not found guilty of any the leaſt part of his challeng, but the ſentence againſt him proceeded alone upon ſome alleaged raſh words to the King in the heat of his defence y.

and moſt earneſtly have prayed at all times, and ſpecially in the foreſaid Sermon, for the preſervation and proſperous eſtate of his Majeſty; alſo I proteſt before God, that neither in that Sermon, nor any other, I ſpoke theſe words, [the King is unlawfully promoted to the Crown] or any words ſounding thereunto, for I put never in queſtion his Majeſties lawfull Authority. w The Collection, *Whatſoever is laid to our Brothers charge, as it is falſe and fained of it ſelfe, ſo it is forged of the Devill and his inſtruments, to bring the faithfull ſervants of God in contempt, for as we were continuall and diligent Auditors of his Doctrine, ſo we beare him faithfull record in God and in conſcience, that we heard nothing out of his mouth, neither in Doctrine nor Application, which tended not directly to the glory of God, and to the eſtabliſhment of your Majeſties Crowne, and whenſoever the occaſion offered it ſelfe in ſpeciall to ſpeake of your Majeſty, we heard him never but in great zeale and earneſt prayer, recommend your Majeſty unto his protection, exhorting alwayes all manner of Subjects to acknowledge their obedience even to the meaneſt Magiſtrate.* x Vide ſupra w.

y Spotſwoods *Hiſtory, yeer* 1583. *fol.* 175. *he burſt forth in undutifull ſpeeches, which unreverend words did greatly offend the Counſell, thereupon was he charged to enter his perſon in* Blackneſſe.

As for his conſcience of any conſpiracy, he denied it upon Oath, neither was any witneſſe brought in to ſay any thing upon that alleageance; if any more were needfull for the

cleering

cleering of his innocence, *Adamsons* Oath and Subscription is extant, wherein he condemnes this part of the Narative of falshood, and justifies Master *Melvill*, as a most just and honest man; [z] yea King *James* himself when the Commissioners of the Church did complaine to him of these slanderous imputations, did promise them under his hand, that they should be rescinded: [a] It is true, that Master *Melvill* when he was sentenced, did flee to *England* for his life, the time being so evill, that according to *Spotswoods* Relation, the King by the practises of the Courtiers in his minority, was forced [b] to permit and oversee too often the execution of divers good & innocent men, yet how little displeasing Master *Melvils* flight was to the King, a short time did declare, for within a few moneths he returned, and was restored both to his Charge and the Kings favour, [c] wherein he did constantly continue, till the death of Queen *Elizabeth* did call his Majesty to the Throne of *England*, a day very joyfull to both Kingdomes, but most sorrowfull to the Church of *Scotland*; for so soon as the English Prelates got King *James* amongst them, they did not rest till Master *Melvill* and the prime of the Scots Divines were called up to *London*, and onely for their necessary and just defence of the truth of God and liberties of the Church of *Scotland*, against Episcopall

His flight no Argument of guiltinesse.

A maine cause of the extirpation of Prelacy in *England*

[z] Adamsons Recantation, *in the second Act there is mention made of Master* Andrew Melvill *and his Sermon wrongfully condemned, as factious and seditious, albeit his Majesty hath had a lively tryall of that mans fidelity from time to time; true it is, he is earnest and zealous, and can abide no corruption (which most unadvisedly I attribute to a fiery and salt humour) which his Majesty findeth by experience to be true; for he alloweth well of him, and knoweth the things that were alleaged upon him to have been false and contrived treacheries.*

[a] Kings Declaration, *always how soone the whole Ministers of* Scotland *shal amend their manners the foresaid Act shall be rescinded.*

[b] Spotswoods *Story, lib. 6. fol. 244. year 1600. Your Father (said the King) I was not the cause of his death, it was done in my minority, and by a forme of justice.*

[c] Vide supra, *the Collection and Recantation* [z].

pall uſurpations, were either baniſhed or confined, or ſo ſore oppreſſed, that griefe did break their heart, and brought the moſt of them to their graves with ſorrow; the whole Diſcipline of the Church of *Scotland* was overthrowne, to the very great trouble and diſquieting of the Church and Kingdome: This violence did lye ſilent under the Prelates Chaires for many yeers, but at laſt, bleſſed be God, it has ſpoken to purpoſe, it has moved the Heavens and ſhaken the earth, to the tumbling of all theſe Antichriſtian Tyrants in the three Kingdomes, with their ſeats of pride, into the gulph of ruine, whence we hope there ſhall be no more emerſion.

Maſter *Melvils* Declinator and Proteſtation cleered.

The laſt thing objected to Maſter *Mervill*, is his declinator of the King; when the ſtate of the Queſtion is knowne, this will appeare no great crime; for the Queſtion was not, Whether Miniſters be exempt from the Magiſtrates juriſdiction, nor, Whether the Pulpit puts men in a liberty to teach treaſon without any civill cognizance and puniſhment, ſince the Reformation of Religion,[d] no man in *Scotland* did ever aſſert ſuch things; but the Queſtion was, as *Spotſwood* himſelfe ſtates it, Whether the Counſell was a competent Judge to Maſter *Melvils* doctrine in *prima inſtantia*, theſe were the expreſſe tearmes; [e] Maſter *Melvill* did proteſt for the liberties of the Church ratified by law avowing that as civil actions could not be called from before the ordinary Judicatories to the Counſell Table, though the King by his Letters ſhould command it; ſo cauſes meerly Eccleſiaſticall ſhould not be

[d] Second Book of Diſcipline, cap. 1. *The Miniſters ſhould aſſiſt their Princes in all things agreeable to the Word; Miniſters are ſubject to the judgement and puniſhment of the Magiſtrate in externall things, if they offend*; The Anſwer to the Declaration, *whereas it is ſaid, it is his Majeſties intention to correct and puniſh ſuch as ſeditiouſly abuſe the Chaire of truth, and factiouſly apply the Scripture to the diſturbing of the Common-wealth, ſurely his Majeſties intention is good, providing, true tryall goe before, unlawfull correction follow after according to the Word of God.*

[e] Spotſwoods *Story fol.* 175. *yeer* 1583. *l.* 6. *be affirmed that what was ſpoken in Pulpit, ought*

brought

first to be tryed by the Presbytery and that neither the King nor Counsell might in prima instantia *meddle therewith.*

brought from the Presbyteries and Synods, at least in the first instance: He did also protest, that the liberties of the *University* should not be violate, for it was a priviledge of old, conferred and very lately confirmed both by King and Parliament, that no member of the Universitty should be called before any Judicatory, to the time their cause was heard and discussed within the Universitty it selfe; whether these Protestations were treasonable and dissonant from the Lawes and constant practice of *Scotland*, will appeare more anon; so much of the narrative.

[f] Second Book of Discipline p. 25. *Although Kings and Princes that be godly, sometimes by their owne authority, when the Kirk is corrupted, and all things out of order, place Ministers, and restore the true service of the Lord, after the example of some godly Kings of* Juda, *and divers godly Emperours and Kings also, in the light of the new Testament, yet where the Ministry, &c.*

What Supremacy is lrwfull.

The Ordinance pretended to be made upon occasion of Master *Melvils* misbehaviour, was the Act of the Kings Supremacy over all persons, *That none should decline his Highnesse Authority*: Where it is to be observed, that the contrivers of this Declaration, while they endeavour to shew the occasion and rise of that second Act from Master *Melvil* and other Ministers, their stirring up of people to Rebellion against their native King, and their refusing to acknowledge *the Soveraigne judgement for a godly quietnesse and order in the Common-wealth, to appertaine to his Highnesse care and solicitude*: And it being professed in the same Declaration concerning that Act, that his Majesties intention was onely to represse that immunity, priviledge and exemption invented by the Pope to *exempt himselfe and his Clergie from all judgement of Princes*: Yea, the Declaration expressly waveth the Question of the Kings Supremacy in judging of causes Ecclesiasticall, as not belonging to that present condition of affaires, the Question being neither concerning heresies, interpretation of Scripture, the lawfull and ordinary Ecclesiasticall Judge-

ment for preſerving and maintaining Church Diſcipline; nor concerning the power of Synods, but concerning ſome of the Miniſtry joyning themſelves (as is there pretended) to Rebels, and diſquieting the State: Theſe things conſidered, it will appeare, that as this Declaration infinitely wrongeth theſe learned and godly Miniſters (who were far from any diſloyall doctrines or popiſh tenents, concerning the immunity of Miniſters from all judgement of Princes, in matters belonging to quietneſſe and order in the Common-wealth, ſo it doth not cleerly hold forth that which peradventure was intended and is endeavoured (in point of the Magiſtrate his ſupremacy in *Eccleſiaſticis*) by ſome who were very ſolicitous to have this Declaration reprinted; whoſe principles ſuffer them not to reſt ſatisfied with that meaſure of power, which in a reformed and well conſtructed Church doth (by the Word of God, and by the Doctrine of the ancient and reformed Churches) belong to the civill Magiſtrate in reference to Religion and cauſes Eccleſiaſticall (wherein alſo their power is further enlarged in extraordinary caſes, when the ordinary wayes and meanes of reformation cannot be had: Some hopes (it ſeemes) there were to find in this Declaration another kind of Supremacy, which is now the idol of many miſinformed minds, which is alſo hightned farre above the moderate interpretations which were given by Doctor *Bilſon* and Doctor *Uſher*.

The Eraſtian ſupremacy is more then a Turkiſh tyranny.

I meane ſuch a ſupremacy, as makes the Magiſtrate the head and fountaine of all Juriſdiction Civill and Eccleſiaſtick, which makes all powers within His Dominions to be but rivolets and ſtreames derived from his Ocean, making all the members of all Courts Spirituall and Civill to be but Commiſſioners at pleaſure of the Prince, putting all Lawes under his arbitrement, and the Legiſlative power in his breſt alone, changing Parliaments into his arbitrary Counſels for matters of State, as generall Aſſemblies for matters of the Church: putting it in his free will to lay aſide for ever both Parliaments and Aſſemblies, and to ſet up in their places, what Courts they thinke expedient, for all cauſes of all perſons, that they may (if ſo it be their pleaſure, commit the finall deciſion of all Eccleſiaſtick cauſes to ſome few Church

and

and Statesmen of their owne nomination, under the title of a High Commission, or to two or three either of the Church or State, under the name of Delegats, or to any one Gentleman alone, under the name of a Vicar generall; also they may devolve the last determination of all civill causes upon a few favourites, whether of the long or short Robe, under the stile of a Star Chamber, or Counsell Table, or Cabinet counsell, or private Juncto.

If this be the supremacy which the reprinters of the Declaration aime at, we grant that many Prelats and Courtiers have alwayes been of their mind; but I assure them, the *Scots* Divines did ever abhorre such slavish maximes; such a supremacy has alwayes been the fundamentall Law in the grand Segniors Port at *Constantinople*, it has been for many yeers the possessed Prerogative of the *French* and *Spanish* Monarchs; also from their example, it has been the aime and endeavour not onely of other Kings, but almost of all Princes and Soveraigne States, how pettie soever; so much is a sovereigne despotick and uncontroleable Domination, naturally beloved by all who are in any neernesse or hope to attaine it: But it is a morsell that has stuck with so many in the swallowing, and poysoned so many in the digestion, though swallowed downe, that few who are wise, will adventure any more to taste of it; notwithstanding if the appetite of the publishers of this Writ will not be satisfied with any thing lesse then such a Supremacy, let them be pleased to consider:

First, that this kind of supremacy will fall upon a subject where their harts wil be loth it should lodg, it wil be found rather a part of the royall Prerogative, then any Priviledge of Parliament; and although according to their good friends last warning to the City, the Crowne were broken in pieces, and the whole royall Prerogative devolved upon the head of the Parliament, yet the aforementioned supremacy is so high an injustice, that no gracious member of either House would ever be perswaded to touch it though it were put in their fingers; for beside the everting of all the Lawes whereupon Monarchy since the first foundation has stood, it would so shake the groundstones of all the Lawes of the Kingdome, as would

If either King or Parliam nt admit of it, it wil overthrow both, and the whole Nation with them.

would hazard the overthrow no lesse of the Parliament, then of the King, and with them all the Judicatories and rights of the Land, our unhappy Brovtlons, fit for nothing so much as to confound all things, would be in a faire way to bring the whole Church and State to such a Chaos and hodge podge, as no creature without Gods extraordinary assistance, should ever againe be able to bring their confusions to any tolerable order.

The Supremacy here mentioned favours Episcopacy, but not Erastianisme.

Secondly, they should doe well to consider, that whatever supremacy is aimed at in the Writ, yet the Erastian designe will not be much helped thereby, for it is expresly provided therein, that the ordinary Ecclesiastick Judicatories shall cognosce all Ecclesiasticke causes, & no word at all to import that any civil Commissioners may determine upon any affaires meerly Ecclesiasticall; it is true, that the ordinary Judicatories here named, are put under the foule feet of the Prelats; and this seems to have been the maine aime both of the Act and of its interpretation, yet hereby the Erastian principles are nothing furthered; for as by the Covenant and Laws of both Kingdomes the roots of Episcopacy are now pluked up, so its well knowne that neither Presbiterians nor Independents were ever more zealous for the establishing of Ecclesiastick jurisdiction by a divine right in the hand of Church Officers, then the Episcopall party, at least those of them who understood and minded their owne principles.

King *James* against the Erastians.

Thirdly, if all this will not satisfie, we desire those who hold out this passage as advantageous for the Ecclesiastick

& *Printed Declaration, p. 3. Neither is it his Majesties intention to take away the lawfull and ordinary judgment of the Church, but rather to preserve, encrease, and maintaine the same; and as there is in the Realme Justices, Constables, Sheriffes, Provosts, Bailiffes, and other Judges in temporall matters, so his Majesty alloweth that all things may be done in order, and a godly order may be preserved in the whole Estate; the Synodall Assemblies by the Bishops or Commissioners for the places vacand, to be convened twice in the yeere, to have the Ordering of matters belonging to the Ministry and their estate.*

power

power of the Magiſtrate in prejudice of the Presbytery, to know that when the Miniſters did complaine to King *James* of this ſeeming prejudice, he gave them his owne Declaration which he promiſed ſhould be as authentick as that Act of Parliament [hh] which cauſed their griefe, and much more authentick then *Adamſons* Interpretation of that Act; aſſuring them that neither himſelfe nor any of his ſucceſſors ſhould ever claime the Cognizance nor the power to determine in any cauſe meerly Eccleſiaſticall,[ii] avowing that Eccleſiaſtick Juriſdiction did belong onely to the Church officers, which neither himſelfe nor any of his heires ſhould ever crave nor ever ought to crave as belonging to them.

King *James* revoked what here is publiſhed.

Finally, we deſire them to know, if Princes promiſes and Declarations under their hands ſeeme not to them ſufficient ſecurity, that whatever in the preſent paſſage does appeare, to ſpoile the Church Aſſemblies of a full and plenary Juriſdiction, was all recalled and paſt from by King *James* the very next yeer for he did conſent unto that tranſaction of Archbiſhop *Adamſons*, whereby the Arch-prelate deveſts himſelfe of all juriſdiction, and ſubmits himſelfe to the authority of the Aſſembly, renouncing all liberty of appeale to any other perſon or Judicatory in the earth [kk].

But to ſtop all mouths which from *Scotland* would bring any colour of warrant

King *Charles* alſo.

[hh] *Kings Declaration: Now I ſay and declare, which Declaration ſhall be as authentick as the Act it ſelfe; that I for my part ſhall never, neither my Poſterity, ought ever cite, ſummon or apprehend any Paſtor or Preacher for matters of Doctrine in Religion, ſalvation, bereſies, or true interpretation of the Scriptures, but according to my firſt Act, which confirmeth the liberty of Preaching the Word, Miniſtration of the Sacraments; I avow the ſame to be a matter meere Eccleſiaſticall and altogether impertinent to my calling, therefore never ſhall I, nor never ought they, I meane my Poſterity, to acclaime any power of juriſdiction of the foreſaid.*

[ii] Vide ſupra [hh].

[kk] Spotſwoods *Hiſtory, lib. 6. p. 184. yeer 1586. A tranſaction was made in this ſort, That the Biſhop by his hand writing ſhould labour to carry himſelfe as a moderate*

rant for an Eraſtian Supremacy, in the laſt Parliament of *Scotland*, which was ratified by King *Charles*, with the hearty conſent of his good Subjects of *England*; the finall determination of all Eccleſiaſticke Cauſes whatſoever is referred to the Nationall Aſſembly as to the onely proper and competent Judge; ‖ whoever will call this Act of Parliament into queſtion muſt be content to have the King and his Parliaments of both Kingdoms for their firſt and chiefe oppoſites.

The ſum of the next Paragraph.

The explanation of the next Act is alſo large and confuſed, it contains a diſcharge of all Church Aſſemblies and meetings not authorized by Law; particularly, it diſcharges the Nationall Aſſemblie, and Claſſicall Presbytery upon the allegeance of ſome enormous practiſes of theſe two meetings: Conſider firſt the diſcharge, and then its reaſons.

Church-aſſemblies eſtabliſhed in *Scotland* on a Divine Right, with the allowance of King *James* and K. *Charles* in divers Parliaments.

Concerning the diſcharge of Church meetings not authorized by Law, the Commiſſioners did ſhew the King that Church meetings were neceſſary to be kept, being mm cõmanded of *Paſtor ought, labouring to be the Biſhop deſcribed by Saint* Paul, *ſubmitting his life and Doctrine to the Judgement and cenſure of the generall Aſſembly, without any reclamation, provocation or appellation from the ſame in any time comming, what ſhould have moved the King to hearken to a mediation ſo prejudiciall both to his owne authority and the Epiſcopall juriſdiction cannot well be conjectured; whatſoever the reaſon was, the Biſhop did ſet his hand to the things propoſed by the Aſſembly.*

‖ *Second Parliament of K.* Charles *Act* 4. *p.* 6. *&* 8. *The Kings Majeſty having graciouſly declared that it is his royall will and pleaſure that all queſtions about Religion and matters Eccleſiaſticall, be determined by the Aſſemblies of the Church, and that for preſervation of Religion, generall Aſſemblies rightly conſtitute, as the proper and competent judge of all matters Eccleſiaſticall hereafter be kept yeerly, and oftner pro re nata: as alſo that Kirk Seſſions, Presbyteries and Synodall Aſſemblies be conſtitute and obſerved, according to the order of this Kirk; which Act, the eſtates now convened by his Majeſties indiction, ratifies, approves and confirmes in all points, and gives thereunto the ſtrength of a Law and Act of Parliament.*

mm Animadverſions *we offer Us to prove by good Warrants of the Word of God, that it is lawfull to the Eccleſiaſtiall Eſtate, to Convo-*

God

cate Aſſemblies, and to hold the ſame, and to appoint and order place and time for convening of the ſame, to treat upon ſuch matters as concerne the Kirk affaires, which no wayes impaireth your Majeſties civill and royall juriſdiction, but rather fortifieth and decoreth the ſame.

God; and being ſuch means without which the Churches and ſocieties of the Saints could not ſubſiſt in their neceſſary purity and order: in the time of the greateſt perſecutions Chriſtians did meet in their Aſſemblies both for worſhip and diſcipline, though the imperiall Lawes did diſcharge ſuch conventions: In *France* and *Poland* where the Princes are enemies to Religion, yet the Proteſtants are permitted to keep their Aſſemblies for Diſcipline, greater and ſmaller, of all ſorts as they have occaſion, no leſſe then their meetings for the Word and Sacraments: His Majeſty in his reply does not deny the Commiſſioners allegeance, onely he required a intermiſſion of the named meetings for a ſhort time, till the whole plat-forme of Church government according to the Word of God, might be finiſhed; hereby [nn] yeelding that he beleeved the Church ought to have its owne government, according to the preſcription of the holy Scripture, to which he purpoſed to ſubmit and agree, as indeed he did the yeer following, agreeing to that courſe which the Aſſembly at Saint *Andrewes* tooke with Biſhop *Adamſon* without all contradiction, and ever thereafter permitting the Miniſters without any interruption, to enjoy all their Eccleſiaſtick meetings in peace; yea ſome few yeeres after (as oft I have ſaid) he did eſtabliſh by Act of Parliament the whole plat-forme of government according to their mind, which abode untouched till the evill advice of the *Engliſh* Prelats moved him to make ſome breaches in that wall, which (thanks be to God) are now fully repaired; King *Charles* in perſon having lately ratified in Parliament the meeting of all our Aſſemblies, from the loweſt to the higheſt, ſo fully as our hearts could wiſh.

[nn] The Kings Declaration: *My meaning and Declaration is, that they ſhall ceaſe while a ſetled Policie and Juriſdiction be eſtabliſhed according to the Commiſſion and line of Gods Word.*

Beſide the divine right of our Church meetings for Diſcipline, the Commiſhoners did demonſtrate to the King the good humane right thereof in *Scotland*, producing to him an Act of his owne firſt Parliament, for the nationall Aſſembly and finall determination of all Eccleſiaſticall appeales therein;oo his Majeſty likewiſe could not but well remember that the whole modell of Presbyteries and their proceedings had been oft in debate before him and the Counſell Table; alſo, that ſome few yeeres before he had ſent to the generall Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*, his expreſſe order for the erection of Presbyteries in all the Shires of the Kingdome;pp whence theChurch came to be in a very peaceable poſſeſſion of all her Aſſemblies nationall, provincial, claſſicall and congregationall, without any controlment; onely in that houre of darkneſſe (as generally then it was called) there was a ſhort eclipſe, but that did quickly paſſe over; neither did any interruption of theſe Church meetings come thereupon.

oo Animadverſions *concerning the generall Aſſembly of the Kirke, there is an Act the firſt year of your highneſſe reigne, ratifying the authority thereof, and decerning appellations to be devolved thereto, as to the laſt judgement of matters concerning the Kirk.*

pp The Acts of the generall Aſſembly. *Inſtructions to our truſty and welbeloved* William Cunningham *of Caprinton, directed by us with the advice of the Lords of our ſecret Counſell to the generall Aſſembly conveend at* Gaſgow, April 20.1581. *followes the Liſt of 50. Presbiteries, 12. Pariſhes or thereabouts, making up one Preſbitry.*

The reprinters of this Declaration ſeem to be contemners of Oaths Lawes, and al rights divine and humane.

However, we cannot but obſerve the diſpoſition of thoſe who with ſo great care and zeale, ſet out in this paper to the world for imitation, the example of a Prince (although in the hour of tentation, out of the which he was immediately delivered) for pulling down and diſcharging of Presbyteries and Aſſemblies, when eſtabliſhed by Law, and quietly poſſeſſed by a cleere Right both divine and humane: We truſt the honourable Houſes of Parliament are farre from their mind, elſe we ſhould have but ſmall comfort, though we

ſhould

ſhould ſee the Ghurch government here ſetled both by Law and poſſeſſion; for it ſeems that the publiſhers of this Writ would have us to deſpaire of any ſecurity to keep whatever now may be gotten; Oaths, Covenants, Lawes, Poſſeſſions muſt be no ſtronger then bonds of flax and ropes of ſtraw, which the fire of theſe mens wrath, when ever it comes upon them, will eaſily burne and burſt aſunder; but it is well that Princes and Parliaments are not capable to be miſcarried by the private paſſions of ſo unconſtant and perfidious perſons.

The reaſons of the Act doe follow, for the putting downe of the Claſſicall Presbytery, a great misbehaviour is alledged; The Presbytery of *Edinburgh* took upon them to diſwade the Feaſting of the *French* Embaſſadour, and did enter in Proceſſe with the Magiſtrates, who at the Kings deſire contrary to their advice did keepe that Feaſt; a long and odious ſtory of that matter is here deduced and borrowed from hence, both by *Spotſwood* in his Hiſtory, and *Maxwell* in his *Iſſachars* burthen; but the truth is this, as I finde it extracted out of the Records of the Church of *Scotland*, by a very reverend and faithfull hand: That time was one of the moſt ſad and dangerous ſeaſons, that this Iſle hath ſeene; it was but a little after the Maſſacres of *France*, and a little before the *Spaniſh* Armada, about the very inſtant when the Catholicke League was hatched, for the rooting out of Proteſtant Religion, and all Proteſtant Princes, eſpecially Queene *Elizabeth*. At this time it was when two or three *French* Embaſſadours one after another came over from *France* to *Scotland*, with Inſtructions from the chief contrivers of that unholy League. qq The Court was then very corrupt, exceeding tyrannous and oppreſſive both of the Nobility and Miniſters; Jeſuites and Prieſts did flocke from beyond Sea, in greater numbers then ever; rr the profeſſed negotiation of

A full account of the *French* Banquet.

qq Vide ſupra: *Alſo* Spotſwoods *hiſtory* lib. 6. fo. 180. year 1585. *then came that holy League, as they called it, to be diſcovered, which the Pope, the Spaniſh King, with the Guiſes and others had made to extirpate reformed Religion; the Queene of* England *underſtanding her ſelfe to be principally aymed at, &c. Alſo the* Collection

the *French* Agents was to reſtore Queen *Mary*; the traſiquers in that buſineſſe were received with extraordinary curteſies: All this did fill the hearts of the people both with griefe and feare, for the undermining of their Religion, for the deſtruction of their King, and ruine of the Kingdome. Theſe paſſions increaſed when they did ſee the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors at that ſame time uſed in a much divers faſhion; railed upon by raſcals in the ſtreets, vexed with infamous Libels fixed upon the doores of their Lodgings, endangered in their perſons by Piſtols ſhot in at their windowes; ff and all this without any puniſhment upon the authors of ſuch atrocious contumilies: In this poſture of affaires, to tempt yet further the patience of honeſt people, ſome *French* Merchants did move the King to deſire the Magiſtrates of *Edenborough* to invite the *French* Agent to a publick Feaſt; tt the unſeaſonableneſſe of the time made the deſire grievous to the Magiſtrates, and therefore they declined it with a faire excuſe; yet the Monſieur de la Motſenellon *and* Maningvill *were ſent from the King of* France *to ſtrengthen the Kings faction to procure* Lenox *his returne, to withdraw the King from the Lords.*

tt Collection: *hee procured Protections for Jeſuites and trafficking Papiſts, St.* Andrews *ſtory*, li. 5. fol. 165. yeare 1579. *this diſſention betwixt the King and the Church brought with it many evils; for upon the notice of it, divers Jeſuites and Prieſts did reſort into the Country, and at home ſuch as were Popiſhly affected, began openly to avow their profeſſion.*

ff Spotſwoods *Hiſtory*, lib. 6. fol. 173. yeare 1582. La Mot *came by* England, *having the ſame Inſtructions to renew the purpoſe of the Aſſociation which was ſet on foot the yeere before, and almoſt concluded in this ſort, that the* Queene *of* Scots *ſhould communicate the Crowne with her Son, and both be joyned in the adminiſtration of affaires; but upon the Dukes ſequeſtring from Court, it was left off, and not mentioned againe till now:* The Collection; The Queen *of* Englands *Ambaſſadour, Maſter* Randall, *was abuſed with infamous Libels affixed upon the doore of his Lodging, the chiefe Courtiers withdrew their countenance from him, ſuch as reſorted to him were obſerved, an Harquebus charged with two bullets, was ſhot in at his cham-*

King

ber window, where he usually sate.

t Collection: While La Mot is thus practising, some French Merchants in Edenborough for their owne commodity, caused it to be motioned to the King to send one to the Counsell of Edenborough, to give the French Ambassadour a Banquet; the Counsell refusing, the King was offended, and alleaged the motion came from themselves; the matter was againe debated in Counsell, in end the best part of the Counsell contradicting, it was concluded, the Banquet should be made; whereupon the Session of the Kirke resolved upon a Fast, or rather abstinence that day; the Presbytery knew nothing of it. w Vide supra tt.

xx The Censure: The Allegeance that the Presbytery of Edenbrough did appoint a Fast to be kept upon the day that the French Ambassadour was Banqueted by the Towne of Edenborough is false, for not the Towne, but some French factioners in the Towne Banqueted the Ambassadour, three Bailies, the greatest part of the Counsell, and some of the Kings Privy Counsell were in the Church in the time of the Banquet, not the Presbytery, but the particular Session of the Kirke of Edinborough, with the advice of so many Magistrates and Counsellours, as were not contrivers of the Banquet, appointed a voluntary abstinence.

yy Adamsons Recantation: My good will was, I protest, to have King was moved to presse them againe; the motion being brought to the Common Counsell of the Town the Plurality yeelded, though the most of the Magistrates and best part of the Counsellours were dissenting: w This matter being offensive to the Church Session, or Congregational Eldership, the day of the French Festival by the joint advice of the Magistrates, Ministers, and the rest who were present, was appointed to be a day of Preaching and prayer; xx this was thought to be the faireſt way, with the least offence to hinder (if it might be) that offensive and unseasonable Banquet; as for any processe of excommunication intended against them, who chooſed rather to feast with the French, then to pray with the City, and most of the Magistrates, I take it but for a meer fable; for albeit the Author thereof, Adamson, had not acknowledged his Narration of the Banquet to be false (as he does expresly yy) yet why should we have taken it in any other sense, then the other passages of the same Pamphlet; wherein he

he avowes the Presbyteries to have put out innumerable Orders directly oppoſite to the King, and have ſent Lawes and Commands to his Majeſty, under the paine of Excommunication [zz]; which all the world ſees (ſetting aſide the Authors confeſſion) to be meer lyes, and notorious calumnies [aaa].

The extreame unjuſtice of the Prelats of old, and Eraſtians now againſt the Presbytery.

But ſuppoſe that all the alledged circumſtances of that ſad feſtivall had beene all true, yet could this treſpaſſe be no otherwiſe expiate then by the very abolition, not onely of that Judicatory, whence the overture did proceed; but alſo of all the Judicatories of that kinde in the whole Kingdome, being altogether ignorant and innocent of the tranſgreſſion: and though the Epiſcopall rigour ſhould have been thus tranſcendent; yet what ſhadow of reaſon could be brought for the overthrow of the Claſſes, for the treſpaſſe of the Congregationall Elderſhip. It was not the Claſſicall Presbytery of *Edinborough*, but the Towne Seſſion that was alledged to be the delinquent: We wonder not when Prelates are Counſellors to ſee ſtrange and unheard of rules of Juſtice; but of this we marvaile, that the Leaders of the Independent or Eraſtian party ſhould be ſo well pleaſed with ſuch patternes, as not to have patience to have them at this time concealed, but will needs have them brought forth of the grave of oblivion where long they lay buried, to be looked upon by the State at this time, as ruled caſes for their imitation.

As for the abolition of the generall Aſſembly, three of their

condemned every point, yea even to the falſe Narration of the Banquet, and all the reſt contained in that little Treatiſe, called the Declaration of the Kings Majeſties intentions, as I acknowledge they deſerve to be condemned by the cenſure and judgment of the Kirk.

[zz] Vide *the printed Declaration.*

[aaa] The Cenſure: *that the Aſſembly was accuſtomed to preſcribe Lawes to the King and Counſell, under paine of Excommunication: to appoint no Biſhops in time to come: ſuch calumnies are not worthy to be anſwered; for to draw out of the pure fountaines of Gods word an Eccleſiaſticall Canon agreeable to the ſame, and to ſuit like humble Suppliants, the approbation of the ſame, is the dutie of the Kirke: this is not a preſcribing of Lawes to the King and Eſtates.*

their offences are named, their approbation of the road of *Ruthven*, their aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, their indicting of ſolemne Faſts; the deſert of theſe crimes we will ſee when the particulars are opened.

The generall Aſſemblies approbation of the Road of *Ruthven*, very innocent.

The Road of *Ruthven* was a Remonſtrance made to his Majeſty by a number of the prime and beſt affected of the Nobility, againſt the inſupportable tyrannies of ſome few Courtiers, to the extream hazard of the Kings perſon, the Church and whole Kingdome. His Majeſty, yet *minor*, was content to follow the Remonſtrants advice; the men complained of, were removed from Court, the action of the Noble-men was declared by the King and his Counſell to have been good and acceptable ſervice; [bbb] the convention of eſtates made that ſame Declaration: [ccc] the Kings, the Counſels, the States approbation of this fact was ſolemnly proclaimed in the next Market places of the chiefe Burroughs [ddd] at his Majeſties deſire, the Ambaſſadours of *England* and *France* did write ſo much to their Maſters [eee]: and it was alſo promiſed that the next generall Aſſembly and Parliament (for the Noblemens greater ſecurity) ſhould give their ample approbations. When the generall Aſſembly came the Noblemen petitioned them for their approbation; at the firſt the Aſſembly declined to meddle with that matter, [fff] but when the Petitioners inſiſted, alleaging

[bbb] Collection: *His Majeſty ſeemed to be well pleaſed, and gave ſundry ſignifications of his good liking of that action, as of good ſervice done to him, by atteſtations in his Princely word, they ſhould never be challenged, by Act of Privy Counſell, by Act of ſolemn convention of Eſtates, by publike Proclamations at Market Croſſes needfull, by deſiring the* Engliſh *Ambaſſadours to teſtifie to the Queene his owne and his Eſtates good liking, by two legations ſent to her Majeſty ſigned by his owne hand and the Counſels, by his command to the Miniſters in chiefe places, to ſignifie his conſent and approbation to the people.*

[ccc] [ddd] [eee] Vide ſupra [bbb].

[fff] Collection: *When the Authors of the enterprize ſought the approbation of the generall Aſſembly, it was anſwered, that the matter was civill, nothing pertaining to them: It was replyed, that the King and Counſell & Eſtates had approved it, and that the King had agreed an Act*

leaging it was the Kings pleaſure they ſhould take that matter into conſideration, they ſent two of their number to the King to underſtand his mind, his Majeſty did not onely ſignifie to thoſe Meſſengers his deſire, that the Aſſembly ſhould declare their approbation of that Action at *Ruthven*, ggg but alſo he did ſend two Commiſſioners of his owne to require the Aſſembly in his name to declare ſo much hhh.

of approbation ſhould be made in the Aſſembly; whereupon Maſter James Lauſon *and Maſter* David Lindſay *were directed to his Majeſty; who after conference with his Majeſty and Counſell, reported their approbation and the Kings contentment that an Act ſhould paſſe as was deſired* ggg Vide fff.

hhh The Collection: *The Tutor of* Pitcur *and Colonell* Stuart, *Commiſſioners from the King, reported, that they had ſpeciall command to aſſent in his name; and ſo the Aſſembly approved, but not till approved before, and deſired to approve.* iii Vide ſupra.

Could the Aſſemblies obedience to the Kings expreſſe command be a treaſon of ſo high a nature, as did merit not onely the perſecution of their perſons, but the abolition of the Court it ſelfe for ever, yet the Prelats and Courtiers rage did intend no leſſe; for when Captaine *James* had got againe into the Court, whence he had been baniſhed, he wrought ſo upon the *minor* King, that the Noblemen and Gentlemen who had procured his removall at *Ruthven*, were ſome of them executed as Traitors, others forfeit and baniſhed, many of the beſt Miniſters were forced to flee for their life, not one Paſtor durſt ſtay in *Edenburgh*, but all fled out of the Kingdome iii.

Such ſtormes has Satan oft ſtirred up in *Scotland* by his inſtruments, yet gracious men there by faith and patience, by wiſdome and active courage, did wreſtle through and alwayes in the end prevailed, they got the Church, the Kingdome, the perſon of the Prince, ever at laſt reſcued from the bonds and ſnares of oppreſſing Sycophants. The memory of our Predeceſſors ſufferings and ſucceſſes does much encourage us in theſe evill dayes, and permits us not in the greateſt tempeſts to faint, but makes us to walk with hope in the midſt of deſpaire for the like glorious iſſue; however this

was

was the ſad condition of *Scotland* for ſome time, till the oppreſſed Nobility did come to *Stirling*, in a greater number, and with a ſharper Remonſtrance then they had uſed at *Ruthven*.

At their firſt appearing before the Towne, the inſtruments of miſchiefe did flee, the King and his good people, Noblemen Gentlemen Miniſters and others, were preſently reconciled, though the authors of theſe frequent miſunderſtandings did eſcape by flight the ſword of publick Juſtice, yet did the private judgements of God quickly find them out, and ſweep them off the face of the earth: with their ruine, peace and proſperity did flow in both upon Church and Kingdome. The Road of *Stirling*.

The other great crime imputed to the generall Aſſembly, is, That they had voted downe Epiſcopacy, and had profeſſed the unlawfulneſſe of prelaticall Juriſdiction both in the Church and State, which prior Aſſemblies had approved of. To this I anſwer, that the crime cannot be very great, for any Church meeting, eſpecially a generall Aſſembly, to declare their judgement in a point of Religion of great and generall concernment; and whether this their judgement was erroneous when they condemned the office of Epiſcopacy, affirming it to be unlawfull for a Miniſter of the Goſpell to be a Lord of Parliament and Counſell, to be a Chancellour, Secretary, Treaſurer of a Kingdome, or any Officer of State, or to take upon him alone the power of Ordination and ſpirituall Juriſdiction (which the Word of God never gives to one ordinary Officer, but alwayes to a number joined in a Presbytery) the whole Iſle (thanks be to God) now does cleerly ſee. It could be no crime in the generall Aſſembly to vote down Epiſcopacy.

That ever the Church of *Scotland* or any lawfull Aſſembly thereof did approve of Epiſcopall juriſdiction, it is alleaged without any ground: We grant the Earl of *Morton* in that neceſſary correſpondence which he did always keep with Queen *Elizabeth*, was entangled in a greater familiarity and affection to the *Engliſh* Prelats, then was convenient, and at their deſire did aſſay, in a conference of ſome Stateſmen and Miniſters of his ſpeciall acquaintance, in the yeer 1572, at *Leeth* to have ſet up in *Scotland* a kind of Epiſcopacy, but that plant was What favour the Earle of *Morton* procured to Epiſcopacy at the conference at *Leeth*, 1572. was by the generall Aſſemblies diſclaimed.

was ſo ſtrange to our climate, that it could take no root in our ground, for ſo much offence was taken in the very next generall Aſſembly after that conference, at the name of Epiſcopacy, [kkk] and ever after at any ſhadow of the thing, that the following Aſſemblies did not reſt till both the name and thing, till both the ſhadow and all the parts of the ſubſtance were diſavowed. They had indeed for a time ſome wraſtling with the Court about this matter; yet at laſt (as I have ſaid) in the yeer 1592. they got the King and Parliament perſwaded to paſſe ſuch Acts, as did caſt out of our Church and State, Epiſcopacy both root and branch, ſubſtance and ſhadow. As theſe Acts of Parliament were firſt made by King *James*, and the States of *Scotland*, and now alſo ratified by King *Charles*, ſo both the Houſes of the Parliament of *England* cannot but approve thereof, having joyned themſelves by Oath and Covenant with *Scotland*, to extirpate the unhappy root of Epiſcopacy, which has been the great cauſe of the moſt miſchiefes which in this laſt Age hath befallen *Brittaine*.

[kkk] The Acts of the Aſſembly, third Seſſion of the Aſſembly at *Perth* 1572.

In the heads agreed upon at Leeth *are found certaine names, as Archbiſhop, &c. which were thought ſcandalous and offenſive to the ears of many of the Brethren, appearing to ſound towards Popery, therefore the whole Aſſembly with one voice proteſts, that they intend not by the uſing of any ſuch names, to conſent to any kind of Popery or Superſtition, and wiſhes rather the ſaid names to be changed into others that are not ſlanderous nor offenſive: And likewiſe proteſts, That the ſaid heads agreed upon, be onely received as an interim, till further and more perfect Order may be obtained at the hands of the Kings Majeſty, Regent and Nobility, for the which they will preſſe as occaſion ſhall ſerve.*

It was no fault in the Aſſemblies that they called to Faſting.

The third crime for which the generall Aſſembly behoved to be put down, was their indicting of ſoleme Faſts; in which, ſeditions & tumults againſt the King were promoved; conſider that the quarrell is not ſimply for the Faſts, but their evill uſe, to raiſe ſeditions and tumults; certainly that cuſtome of our Church, wherby from the beginning of the Reformati-

on to this day, every Church meeting from the generall Aſſembly to the ſmalleſt Congregationall Elderſhip, had power as they found cauſe, to indict a publick Faſt within their owne bounds, is very innocent and neceſſary for the well being of the Church.

As for the alleaged abuſe of theſe Faſts to ſedition and tumults, it is a meer calumny; the matter I beleeve was this: About the time of the penning of this Writ, the zealous Miniſters in all their exerciſes, eſpecially in the dayes of publick Faſting, did make mention in their Sermons and Prayers, of the wickedneſſe of the Land, for which the wrath of God was much feared by the godly; the Leaders of the Court conſcious of their owne guiltineſſe, took themſelves to be particularly pointed at, and for this did hate extreamly every zealous Preacher, as if all their Sermons and Prayers had been invectives for ſtirring up of the people againſt them, while in truth theſe gracious men did nothing but their duty, containing themſelves within the lines of all needfull moderation; but to wicked men in their pride and impatience, the leaſt touch of the Word of God is an intolerable wound.

Guilty Conſciences hate Faſts without cauſe.

The explanation of the laſt Act, containes the maintainance of Epiſcopacy in the higheſt degree, it puts in the hand of the Biſhop, the whole ſpirituall Juriſdiction of his Dioceſſe to be exerciſed by him alone, although with the advice of ſome few whom he ſhall pleaſe to chooſe for his Counſellours; it imports, that all his Juriſdiction flowes from the King, and in the exerciſe thereof, it makes the Biſhop anſwerable onely to the King, and them whom his Majeſty ſhall appoint in an Aſſembly of his owne framing; it makes the Biſhops alſo Lords of Counſell and Parliament.

The ſum of the next Paragraph.

Upon this paſſage I marke firſt, the conſcience and honour of theſe men, who with ſo great importunity required the reprinting of this Declaration, and to make its operation the more effectual in the hearts of ſimple people, would be at the coſt to change the language thereof, to ſet it downe firſt in *Scotch* and then in *Engliſh*, a piece of paines ſo farre as I know never taken with any other Writ; this diligence demonſtrates the mens humour; I can hardly ſay, whether

The Reprinters of this *Declaration* make no conſcience of their Covenant.

more ſcornfull of the *Scots* and their language, or paſſionately deſirous to diſgrace that Church, though it were with the exalting of Epiſcopacy; and if (as I ſuppoſe) they have taken the Covenant, this encreaſeth my wonder, how any who have ſolemnly ſworne to defend the reformation of the Church of *Scotland*, and to endeavour the extirpation of Prelacy, can in a ſudden become ſo zealous and put themſelves to ſo great pains, in diſgrace of the *Scottiſh* reformation to advance Prelacy. If either Independency or Eraſtianiſme have power to let looſe the Reines of conſcience ſo far; we confeſſe the *Scots* have been too ſimple, in beleeving that Oathes and Covenants in plaine matters, which admit no ambiguity nor plurality of ſenſes, had beene farre ſtraiter bonds among all who had the eſtimation of honeſt men, and in whom there could be found the leaſt ſparkle of any ingenuity or truth.

Conſider ſecondly, that King *James* (as I have ſaid) did give it under his hand to the Commiſſioners of the Church the yeer following, that this Declaration was none of his, but the work of *Adamſon* of Saint *Andrewes*, [111] and that this man at laſt was convinced of his errour, confeſſing upon Oath and ſubſcription, Epiſcopacy to be a groſſe corruption, a ſtirrop for the Pope to aſcend to his Antichriſtian ſaddle, an errour which he had learned, and wherein from time to time, he was entertained by the *Engliſh Prelates* [mmm].

[111] Vide ſupra.

[mmm] Adamſons Recantation: *The laſt Article contained the eſtabliſhing of a Biſhop, which hath no warrant in the Word of God, but is grounded upon the policy and invention of man, whereupon the primacy of the Pope or Antichriſt is riſen, which is worthy to be diſallowed and and forbidden.*

Thirdly, whatever here is ſaid of Biſhops, is not now controverted in the Parliaments of both Kingdomes, and in the ſolemne League of both Nations, it is expreſly condemned, as all doe confeſſe; if any anti-covenanting Malignant require a further debate, when they will, they may have a hearing and an anſwer.

Fourthly, when the Commiſſioners of the church did declare

to

to King *James*, that the government of the Church was not a Matter civill, which did belong to the Magiſtrate to exerciſe, and that it was unlawfull for his Majeſty to appoint any of his Commiſſioners to governe the Houſe of God, that this were with the Pope to take in his hand both the Swords; nnn his Majeſty did put it under his own hand, that theſe things were far from his thoughts, that he was no Judge either of doctrine or hereſie, or of the interpretation of Scripture, that neither he nor his Parliament did meddle wth Excommunication, that they had pronoũced the excommunicaton of *Mountgomery* to be null, not as Judges of the cauſe, but as witneſſes of the informality of the proceſſe, he confeſſed that Jeſus Chriſt was the onely head and Law-giver of his Church, and that if he ſhould claime to himſelf or his heirs any thing meerly Eccleſiaſtick, which the Word of God has put in the hands of Church officers, that if he or any man ſhould ſuſpend or alter any thing which the Word of God did remit onely to them, he avowed that theſe attempts in himſelfe or any other, would be nothing elſe but (as he ſpeaks) the ſinne of Idolatry, and a tranſgreſſion againſt all the three Perſons of the Trinity; againſt the Father, in not truſting the words of his Son; againſt the Son, in not obeying him, but taking his place over his head; ooo againſt the holy Ghoſt, becauſe againſt the Spirits Teſtimony in his own conſcience

King *James* his ful and honeſt Declaration againſt Eraſtianiſme.

nnn Animadverſions; *To confound the Juriſdiction Civill and Eccleſiaſticall, is that thing wherein all men of good judgement have juſtly found fault with the Pope of Rome, who claimeth to himſelfe the power of both the ſwords, which is as great a fault to a Civill Magiſtrate to claime or uſurpe, and eſpecially to judge upon doctrine, errours and hereſies, he not being placed in Eccleſiaſticall function, to interpret the Scriptures: the warrant hereof out of the Word of God, we are ready to bring forth.*

ooo Kings Declaration: *Never ſhall I, nor ever ought my Poſterity acclaime any power or Juriſdiction in a matter meerly Eccleſiaſticall, as to the Commiſſioners not Eccleſiaſticall, they are joyned to give their advices, and not to interpoſe their authority, while Chriſt ſayes* Dic Eccleſiæ, *and one onely man*

ſcience. I hope they who are ſo earneſt to have King *James* heard in this cauſe, though in a falſe and ſuppoſitious Writ, will be content to hear him in his true Declaration under his own hand.

The pretended intentions were not the Kings, but the Prelats.

The third part of the Writ containes an enumeration of his Majeſties intentions; concerning them we need adde little to what is ſaid, onely conſider, firſt, that *Adamſon* the Author of the Writ, aſſures us, that there is nothing or little here of the Kings intentions, PPP being that he did here ſet downe onely his owne intentions, and theſe of the Courtiers and Prelates, at that time of their higheſt pride and greateſt oppreſſion of the religious party.

The Reprinters of this Writ ſeeme to bee perjured men, and either hypocrits or Apoſtates.

Secondly, the errours and faults that appeare in theſe intentiõs are of two kinds, Prelaticall and Eraſtian: For the firſt, not onely the Author did recant them, but alſo as we have now often ſaid, King *James* with the States Aſſembled in Parliament, did expreſly condemne them, and at this time they ſtand condemned *did ſteale that dint againſt the Biſhop of* Glaſgow, *in a quiet holl, the Act of Parliament reduceth the ſentence for informality and nullity of proceſſe, not as Judges, whether the excommunication was grounded on good and juſt cauſes or not, but as witneſſes that it was unformally proceeded; and to end ſhortly this my Declaration, I mind not to cut away any liberty granted by God to his Church, I acclaime not to my ſelfe to be judge of doctrine or true interpretation of Scripture, my intention is not to diſcharge any Juriſdiction in the Kirke, that is conforme to Gods Word, nor to diſcharge any Aſſembly but onely that theſe ſhall be holden by my Licenſe and Counſellours; my intention is not to meddle with excommunication, neither acclaime I to my ſelfe or my heirs, power in any thing that is meere Eccleſiaſticall and not adiaphoron, nor with any thing that Gods Word hath ſimply devolved in the hands of his Eccleſiaſticall Kirk; and to conclude, I confeſſe and acknowledge Chriſt Jeſus to be head of his Church and Lawgiver to the ſame; and whatſoever perſons doe attribute to themſelves as head of the Church, and not as members to ſuſpend or alter any thing that the Word of God hath onely remitted to them; That man, I ſay, committeth manifeſt Idolatry, and ſinneth againſt the Father, in not truſting the words of his Son; againſt the Son, in not obeying*

in

him, and taking his place; againſt the holy Ghoſt, the ſaid holy ſpirit bearing the contrary record to his conſcience.

PPP Recantation: *I have enterprized of meere remorſe of conſcience, to write againſt a Book, called,* The Declaration of the Kings Majeſties intentions; *albeit it containeth little or nothing of the Kings intentions, but of my own, in the time of the writing thereof, and the corrupt intentions of ſuch as for the time were about the King, and abuſed his minority; in the whole Book is nothing contained but aſſertions of lyes, aſcribing to the Kings Majeſty that whereof he was not culpable; I grant I was more buſie with ſome Biſhops in* England, *in prejudice of the diſcipline of our Kirke, partly when I was there, and partly ſince, by mutuall intelligence then became a good Chriſtian, much leſſe a faithfull Paſtor.* in the whole Iſle by King *Charles* in his Parliament of *Scotland*, and by both the Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, who ever now wil tak the patrociny of the Prelaticall war, doth ſet his face againſt the King and Parliaments of both Nations; and if he be a member of Parlia. in either Nation (whoaccording to hisplace muſt needs have ſworn the NationalCovenant) for his endeavor to eſtabliſh what by hisCovenāt he was boūd to his power, to have extirpated; Let him be caſt with ignominy out of theſe honourable Senates as a falſe and perjured hypocrite, planting by deed what by Oath andCovenant he promiſed to eradicat; or elſe an Apoſtate, repenting and retracting while now he is ſet in Parliament, what at his entry upon oath he promiſed, that he might be permitted to ſit downe; ſuch perjured, whether hypocriſie or apoſtacy, cannot but be abominable both to God and all ingenuous men.

As for the Eraſtianiſme of theſe intentions, whereby the Biſhops are made pleni-potentiaries in the Church, by vertue of a Commiſſion from the Magiſtrate, we have ſhewed at length how farre King *James* diſclaimed this errour as a grievous ſinne againſt the Father, Son and holy Ghoſt; for the thing it ſelfe makes the Magiſtrate head of the Church, and fountaine of all Eccleſiaſtick Juriſdiction: This Ceſaropapiſme is an Antichriſtianiſme, ſo much worſe then that of the Pope, as more uncontrolable and remedileſſe; the ſervants of God in their wraſtlings againſt theAntichriſtianiſme

Ceſaro-Papiſme is Antichriſtianiſme worſe then that of the Pope.

of the Pope and Prelats, had often times great assistance, and were ever in a possibility to be assisted by their Princes and Magistrates; but if the Magistrate himself will turn Pope, and take upon him to dispence the spirituall Jurisdiction, one part thereof to civill Commissioners, another part to the Congregationall Eldership, a third to the Classis, a fourth to whom he will, and in the end, as all did flow from him, make all againe to returne by a finall appeale to himselfe, when the servants of Christ are necessitate to oppose and preach against this usurpation of their Masters royall Prerogative, and for their labour are persecute as oppossers of the Magistrate, to whom shall they flee for defence?

The simpathy and antipathy of Bishops & Erastians.

Thirdly, consider how in these intentions Prelacy and Erastianism are linked together; it is true, the genuine principles of Episcopacy doe overturne Erastianisme, and Prelats where ever they conceive themselves bottomed and rooted in a Land, will be loath to fetch their pedegree from any Princes will and Commission, but will stand upon a divine institution, or at least such an Ecclesiasticke right, as depends not upon the Magistrates pleasure; this was the case of the *English* Hierarchy of late: Yet where Episcopacy is not so firmly grounded as it conceives it selfe immoveable and secure, it is a very devout handmaid to Erastianisme; and this was the condition of Prelacy in *England*, when these intentions were written, for at that time the Bishops were glad to keepe not onely their Civill, but all their Ecclesiastick Courts in the name and by the Commission onely of the Prince, deriving all their Jurisdiction, and whatever they had peculiar, above and differing from any Minister of their Dioceese, from the Prince onely, ascribing to him not onely an Architectonick, but a truly Ecclesiastick power, as a chiefe part of the royall Supremacy and Prerogative of the Crowne.

Adamson the very yeer before he wrote his intentions, learned these Lessons in *England* from the Prelats and Courtiers of the Queen; with whom, he confessed at last to his griefe, he had been too intimate; albeit when he came to *Scotland*, he thought it not expedient to vent to that people, or possibly he was not perswaded in his owne mind of the whole body either

ther of the Eraſtian or of the Epiſcopall maximes; for in this Writ the Presbyterian, Eraſtian and Epiſcopall maximes are ſo inconſiderately intermixed, that the man ſeems not to have been very carefull, how their contrary qualities ſhould be ſo contemperated as the whol lump might not be diſſolved by repugnancies. It can be pretty well demonſtrate how Epiſcopacy, as it was for a long time in *England*, may well ſtand upon an Eraſtian bottome: alſo how handſomly the Eraſtian principles may in a ſhort time bring back the Biſhops, Deanes and Chapters from their baniſhment; but how a true and ſolid Apoſtolick Presbytery is compatible either with Epiſcopacy, or a Magiſtraticall Popedome (though there were not a Covenant) I doe not conceive.

Both agree againſt the Presbyterians.

Our laſt remark upon the intentions is, that however they be ſpotted with many and groſſe both Prelaticall and Eraſtian errours, yet they demonſtrate ſo much orthodoxie and zeale remaining in theſe worſt times among the Courtiers and Prelats of *Scotland*, as will beare witneſſe if it be not imitate, againſt our times where much more piety, and that upon ſtronger obligations, is profeſt; for firſt, the King is made to avow his reſolution to ſet up in the whole Kingdome Eccleſiaſticall Aſſemblies for the ſuppreſſing of whatever by the Word of God ſhould be found either hereſie or ſchiſm; ¶¶¶ but how many yeers ſhal we ſee both begin and end, before the pittifull complaints of the godly, both here & abroad ſhall procure the leaſt reſtraint to hereſies or ſchiſms which now in this Kingdom are become more groſſe and impudent then ever in any Kingdome before, or at this day in all the Kingdomes of the earth together. This monſtrous toleration cannot eſchew to draw the diſpleaſure of the God of truth upon the Authors, fomenters and favourers thereof; ſuch a long indifferency and lukewarmneſſe, ſuch a miſregard of the truth of God, ſuch a connivence and compliance with errours of all kind

King *James* againſt all toleration either of hereſie or ſchiſme.

¶¶¶ Kings Declaration, p. 22. *His Majeſties intention is, if any queſtion of faith and doctrine ariſe to convocate the moſt learned, godly, wiſe and experimented Paſtors, that by conference of Scriptures the verity may be tryed, and all hereſie and ſchiſme by that meanes be repreſſed.*

in a people, ever before famous for zeale, is moſt mervailous.

Alſo contrary to our preſent hatefull Anatthy.

Secondly, the King in that very houre of his darkneſſe is made to profeſſe his intention to countenance all the ordinary Judicatories of the Church, and in no wiſe to hinder any good order which from the Word of God in theſe meetings, ſhould be eſtabliſhed; rrr Why then in our dayes of ſo great light, ſhould the whole Church lye ſtill in a totall Anarchy? did ever any Chriſtian Nation for ſeven yeers without any compulſion, abide without all Eccleſiaſtick government? If men had taken a Commiſſion from the Father of lyes, and author of wickedneſſe, to be his avowed agents in propagating errours, vice and all miſchiefes, could they for their life invent a better meanes for furthering theſe deſignes, then to continue this Anarchy, then to be pragmatick and pregnantly inſtrumentall in putting one impediment after another in the way; I hope there are many in the Parliament, Aſſembly and Kingdome, whoſe heart bleeds in their breſt to ſee their hands ſo long tyed, that they cannot get the hedge of the Church ſet up, to keep out the devouring Beaſts from the flock.

rrr Ibid. *His Majeſties intention is not to derogate unto the ordinary judgement of matters of the Church by the ordinary Biſhops, their Counſels and Synods, nor to hinder or ſtay any godly ſolid order grounded upon the Word of God.*

further he promiſes all aſſiſtance and countenance to Church-Aſſemblies.

Thirdly, by theſe intentions we may ſee King *James* his reſolution, which ſo long as he was in *Scotland*, he did indeed performe. Not onely was he content that Eccleſiaſtick judicatories ſhould proceed in all ſpirituall cauſes, as the Word of God did warrant them, but alſo he promiſes to countenance the ſuperiour Aſſemblies of the Church, with his owne royall preſence, and allowes to the meaneſt Church-meetings the aſſiſtance of the inferiour Magiſtrates and Church officers, that their religious and juſt orders might not be contemned without deſerved puniſhment fff.

fff Ibid. *It is his Majeſties intention to aſſiſt this Aſſembly himſelf, or by a Noble man of his Counſell, his*

Theſe men are afraid of their owne happineſſe, who retard

Deputy, and for the keeping of good order in every Pariſh, there ſhall be certaine appointed to be Cenſors of the manners of the reſt, who ſhall have his Majeſties authority and Officers of Armes concurring for the puniſhment of vice.

retard & impedit the erection of ſuch a government, nothing will more conduce for the honour and welfare of the Land, no mean will be more effectuall to keep all people in peace and obedience to the Lawes; to promove the comfort of all who are truly pious, then the hearty concurrence of the Church and State, in ſetting up at laſt, and maintaining the government of the reformed Churches according to the Word of God: Beleeve it, this diſcipline is neither hatefull nor terrible to any, but to theſe alone, who know it not, or elſe are conſcious to themſelves of a wilfull and obſtinate reſolution to abide in ſome errour or vice without the controlement of any cenſure.

The retarders of goverment are enemies to themſelves & welfare of *England*.

The Recantation of PATRICK ADAMSON ſometime pretended Biſhop of St. *Andrewes*, directed to the Synod conveened at St. *Andrewes*, *April* 8. 1591.

BRETHREN,

UNderſtanding the proceedings of the Aſſembly in my contrair, and being now with-holden by ſickneſſe from preſenting my ſelfe before you, that I might give confeſſion of that Doctrine wherein I hope God ſhall call me: And that at his pleaſure I might depart in the unity of Chriſtian Faith; I thought good by Writ to utter the ſame unto your wiſdomes, and to crave your godly wiſdomes aſſiſtance, not for the reſtitution of any worldly pompe or preheminence, which I little reſpect; but to remove from me the ſlanders which are raiſed in this Countrey concerning the variance of Doctrine, eſpecially on my part; wherein I proteſt before God, that I have onely a ſingle reſpect to his glory, and by his grace I ſhall abide herein unto my lives end.

Firſt, I confeſſe the true Doctrine of Chriſtian Religion

to be publickly taught and rightly announced within this Realme, and deteſt all Popery and Superſtition: Like as (bleſſed be God) I have deteſted the ſame in my heart the ſpace of thirty yeeres, ſince it pleaſed God to give me the knowledge of the truth, wherein I have walked uprightly as well here as in other Countries, as the Lord beareth me record, untill theſe laſt dayes, wherein partly for Ambition and vain-glory to be preferred before my Brethren, and partly for Covetouſneſſe, to poſſeſſe the pelfe of the Kirk, I did undertake this Office of an Archbiſhop, wherewith juſtly the ſincereſt Profeſſours of the Word have found fault, and have condemned the ſame as impertinent to the office of a ſincere Paſtor of Gods Word. And albeit men would colour the ſame and imperfections thereof with divers cloaks, yet the ſame cannot be concealed from the ſpirituall eyes of the faithfull; neither yet can the men of God, when they are put to their conſcience, diſſemble the ſame.

Next, I confeſſe that I was in an erronious opinion, that I beleeved the Government of the Kirk to be like unto the Kingdomes of the earth, plaine contrary to the command of our Maſter Chriſt, and the Monarchy whereby the Kirk is Governed; not only to be in the perſon of our SaviourChriſt (as it is) but in the Miniſters, who are nothing but vaſſals under him, in an equality amongſt themſelves.

Thirdly, that I married the Earle of *Huntlie* contrary to the command of the Kirk, without the confeſſion of his Faith and profeſſion of the ſincere Doctrine of the Word: I repent, and crave pardon of God.

That I travelled both by reaſoning and otherwiſe, to ſubject the Kirk-men to the Kings Ordinance in things that appertaine unto Eccleſiaſticall matters, and things of conſcience: I aske God mercy; whereupon great enormities have falne forth in this Countrey.

That I beleeved, and ſo taught, the Presbyteries to be a fooliſh invention, and ſo would have it eſteemed of all men; which is an Ordinance of Chriſt: I crave God mercy.

Further, I ſubmit my ſelfe to the mercy of God, and judgment of the Aſſembly, not meaſuring my offences by my owne ſelfe, nor by the infirmities of my owne ingyne; but by

by the good judgement of the Kirk, to the which alwayes I ſubject my ſelfe, and beſeech you to make interceſſion to God for me, and to the King, that I may have ſome meanes to live and conſume the reſt of this my wretched time; for winning of whoſe favours (which fooliſhly I thought thereby to obtaine) I committed all theſe errors.

As where I am burthened to be the ſetter forth of the Book called *The Kings Declaration*, wherein the whole order of the Kirk is condemned and traduced; I proteſt before God that I was commanded to write the ſame by the Chancellour for the time, but chiefly by the Secretary, another great Courtier, who himſelfe penned the ſecond Act of Parliament concerning the Power and Authority of Judicature to be abſolutely in the King; and that it ſhould not be lawfull for any Subject to reclaime from the ſame under the penalty of the Act: which I ſuppoſe was treaſon.

Item, Where it is alledged, that I ſhould have condemned the Doctrine anounced and taught by the Miniſtry of *Edinbrough*, concerning obedience to the Prince: I confeſſe and proteſt before God, that I never underſtood nor yet knew any thing, but ſincerity and uprightneſſe in the Doctrine of the Miniſtry of *Edinbrough*, in that point nor in any other.

Further, I confeſſe I was the Authour of the Act diſcharging the Miniſters Stipends that did not Subſcribe theſe Acts of Parliament, wherewith God has juſtly recompenced my ſelfe.

As for any violent courſe, it is knowne well enough who was the Author thereof, and my part was tryed at the impriſonment of Maſter *Nicholl Dalgleiſh*, Maſter *Thomas Jack*, and others.

Moreover, I grant I was more buſie with ſome Biſhops in *England*, in prejudice of the Diſcipline of our Kirk; partly when I was there, and partly by our mutuall intelligence ſince, then became a good Chriſtian, much leſſe a faithful Paſtor. Neither is there any thing that more aſhameth me, then my often deceiving and abuſing of the Kirk heretofore by Confeſſions, Subſcriptions, Proteſtations, &c. which be farre from me now and ever hereafter, *Amen*.

Sic ſubſcribitur *Your brother in the Lord*,

M. PATRICK ADAMSON.

As where your wiſdomes deſire to have my owne opinion concerning the Booke of the *Declaration of the Kings intentions*; the ſame is at more length declared in the Confeſſion, which I have exhibited already; wherein I have condemned all the whole Articles therein contained: like as by theſe preſents I doe condemne them.

As where ye require what became of the Books of the Aſſembly, all which I had preſerved whole unto the returning of the Lords and Miniſtry out of *England*: And if I had not preſerved them, my Lord *Arran* intended to have made them be caſt into the fire; and upon a certaine day in *Falkland* they were delivered to the Kings Majeſty; the Biſhop of *N.* accompanied with Maſter *Henry Hamilton* rent out ſome leaves, and deſtroyed ſuch things as made againſt our Eſtate, and that not without my owne ſpeciall allowance.

As for the Books which I have ſet forth; I have ſet forth nothing except a Commentary upon the firſt Epiſtle of *Paul* to *Timothy*, which I did direct to the Kings Majeſty, and kept no example beſide me, and underſtand that Maſter *John Geddy* got the ſame from the King, and lent it to Maſter *Robert Hepburne*.

Further, I wrote nothing, but onely made mention in my Preface upon the Apocalips; that I ſhould write a Booke called *Pſyllas*, which (being prevented by diſeaſe) God would not ſuffer me to finiſh; and the little thing that was done, I cauſed to deſtroy it. And likewiſe I have ſet forth the Book of *Job* with the Apocalyps, and the Lamentations of *Ieremy*, all in Verſe to be printed in *Engliſh*.

As for my intention, I am not diſpoſed or in ability to write any thing at this time; and if it pleaſe God I were reſtored to my health, I would change my Style, as *Cajetanus* did at the Councell of *Trent*.

As for *Sutlivins* Booke againſt the forme and order of the Preſbyteries, ſo far am I from being partner in that worke, that as I know not the Man, nor ever had any intelligence of the Worke, before it was done; ſo, if it pleaſe God to give me dayes, I will write in his contrary, to the maintenance of the contrary confeſſion.

Prayes the Brethren to be at unity and peace with me; and

in

in token of their forgiveneſſe, becauſe health ſuffereth me not to goe over to the Colledge where preſently ye are aſſembled, which I would gladly doe, to aske God and you forgiveneſſe, that it would pleaſe you to repaire hither that I may doe it here.

Moreover I condemne by this my ſubſcription, whatſoever is contained in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Kings Majeſty, before my Book on the *Revelation*, that is either ſlanderous or offenſive to the Brethren: Alſo, I promiſe to ſatisfie the Brethren of *Edinborough*, or any other Kirk within this Realm, according to good conſcience in whatſoever they find themſelves juſtly offended, and for what is contrary to the Word of God, in any ſpeeches, actions or proceedings which have paſt from me.

And concerning the Commentary upon the firſt Epiſtle of *Paul* to *Timothy*, becauſe there are divers things therein contained offenſive, and that tend to allow of the eſtate of Biſhops, otherwiſe then Gods Word can ſuffer, I condemne the ſame.

The pages before written directed by me Mr *Patrick Adamſon*, and written at my commandement by my ſervant Mr *Samuel Cunninghame*, and by his hand drawne in the blanks, I ſubſcribe with my own hand, as acknowledged by me in ſincerity of conſcience as in the preſence of God, before theſe witneſſes, directed to me from the Synodall Aſſembly, becauſe of my inability to repaire toward them; *James Monypenny* younger of *Pitmilly*, *Andrew Wood* of *Strawthy*, *David Murray* Portioner of *Ardet*, Mr *David Ruſſell*, Mr *William Murray* Miniſter of *Dyſart*, Mr *Robert Wilkie*, *David Forgi ſon*, with divers others.

Sic ſubſcribitur Mr PATRICK ADAMSON.

David Forgiſon witneſſe.
Maſter *Nicol Dalgleiſh*.
James Monypenny of *Pitmilly* witneſſe.
Andrew Wood witneſſe.
Maſter *Ro. Wilkie* witneſſe.
David Murray witneſſe.
Maſter *David Ruſſell*.
Maſter *David Spence*.
Maſter *John Caldcleuch*.
Maſter *William Murray*.

Maſter Patricks *owne Anſwer and Refutation of the Book falſly called*, The Kings Declaration.

I Have enterprized of meere remorſe of conſcience to write againſt a Booke called, *A Declaration of the Kings Majeſties intentions*;

tions; Albeit it containeth little or nothing of the Kings intentions, but my owne, at the time of the writing thereof, and the corrupt intentions of ſuch as were for the time about the King, and abuſed his Minority: Of the which Booke and contents thereof compiled by me, at the command of ſome chiefe Courtiers for the time (as is before written.) I ſhall ſhortly declare my opinion, as the infirmity of ſickneſſe and weakneſſe of Memory will permit.

Firſt, in the whole booke is nothing contained but aſſertions of lyes, aſcribing to the Kings Majeſty that, whereof he was not culpable; For albeit, as the times went, his Majeſty could have ſuffered theſe things to have been publiſhed in his Realme; yet his Majeſty was never of that nature to have reviled any mans perſon, or to upbraid any man with calumnies, whereof there is a number contained in that Book

Secondly, in the Declaration of the ſecond Act of Parliament there is mention made of Maſter *Andrew Melvill* and his preaching wrongfully condemned, in ſpeciall as factious and ſeditious, albeit his Majeſty hath had a lively tryall of that mans fidelity and truth in all proceedings from time to time: True it is, he is earneſt and zealous who can abide no corruption (which moſt unadviſedly I attribute to a fiery and ſalt humour) which his Majeſty findeth by experience to be moſt true, for he alloweth well of him, and knoweth things that were alleaged upon him to have been falſe and contrived treacheries.

There are contained in that ſecond Act of Parliament diverſe other falſe inventions for to defame the Miniſtry, and to bring the Kirk of God in hatred and envy with their Prince and Nobility, burthening and accuſing the Miniſters falſly of ſedition and other crimes, whereof they were innocent: As likewiſe it is written in the ſame act and Declaration thereof, that ſoveraigne and ſupreame power pertaineth to the King in matters Eccleſiaſticall, which is worthy to be condemned and not to be contained among Chriſtian acts, where the power of the Word is to be extolled above all the power of Princes, and they to be brought under ſubjection to the ſame.

The fourth act condemned the Presbyteries, as a judgement not allowed by the Kings Lawes, which is a very ſlender argument;

ment; for as concerning the authority of the Presbytery, we have the ſame expreſt in the Goſpell of *Matthew*, chap. 18. where Chriſt commandeth to ſhew the Kirk, which authority being commanded by Chriſt, and the Acts of Parliament forbidding it, we ſhould rather obey God then man; and yet the Presbytery lacked never the Kings authority for the allowance thereof from the beginning, ſave onely in that hour of darkneſſe when he was abuſed through evill company.

As for any other thing that is contained in this Act againſt any Order or proceedings of the Presbytery, it is to be eſteemed that nothing was done by the Presbytery without wiſdome, judgement and diſcretion. And ſo hath received approbation againe by the Kirk, whereunto alſo I underſtand, his Majeſty hath given allowance, ratifyed, and approved the ſame, which ſhould be a ſufficient reaſon to repreſſe all mens curioſity that either have or would yet finde fault with the ſame.

The laſt Article containeth the eſtabliſhing of Biſhops, which hath no warrant of the Word of God, but is grounded upon the Policy of the invention of Man; whereupon the Primacy of the Pope or Antichriſt has riſen, which is worthy to be diſallowed and forbidden, becauſe the number of Elderſhips that have juriſdiction and overſight as well of viſitation as admiſſion, will doe the ſame farre more Authentickly, godly, and with greater zeale then a Biſhop, whoſe care commonly is not upon God and and his duty, but upon the world, whereupon his chiefe attendance is. Conſider how that Office hath been uſed theſe five hundreth yeeres by gon, with what cruelty and tyranny it hath been exerciſed; ye ſhall finde it to have been the chiefe cauſe that hath in every Countrey ſuppreſſed the Word of God, which ſhall be evident to all that read the Hiſtory of the Kirk. As for my own opinion, it ſeemeth to be neereſt the truth, and fartheſt from all kind of ambition, that the Brethren in equall degree aſſemble themſelves under their Head Chriſt; and there every man diſcharge his Office carefully, as he is commanded. And becauſe weakneſſe of memory and ſickneſſe ſuffereth me not at length to diſcourſe on theſe matters as I would, I muſt requeſt the good Reader to aſſure himſelfe, that I have written this without co-

pulſion or perſwaſion of any Man, with an upright heart, and have delivered the ſame with a perfect ſincerity of minde, ſo far as infirmity of fleſh and blood did ſuffer; As God ſhall judge me at the latter day. And that the ſame Reader account of whatſoever things are omitted, that they are to be imputed to my imbecility of memory & the preſent ſickneſſe and not to any good will, which was (I proteſt) to have condemned every poynt, yea, even to the falſe Narration of the Banket, and all the reſt contained in that little Treatiſe, called, *The Declar tion of the Kings Majeſties intentions*. As (I acknowledge) they deſerve to be condemned by the cenſure and judgement of the Kirk, to the which alſo I ſubmit my ſelfe in whatſomever thing I have either in word or writ attempted either in that foreſaid Declaration or otherwiſe, by theſe preſents ſubſcribed with my hand at S^t. *Andrewes* the 12. of *May* 1591. before theſe witneſſes, Maſter *David Blake* Miniſter at S^t. *Andrewes*, Maſter *Robert Wilkie* Principall of S^t. *Leonards* Colledge, Maſter *John Aiton* of *Enmath*, Maſter *William Ruſſell*.

Sic Subſcribitur PATRICK ADAMSON.

Maſter *David Black* witneſſe.
George Ramſay.
M^r. *John Auchinſleck*.
William Lermonth.
Patrick Guthrie.
Charles Watſon Scribe.

I Maſter *Patrick Adamſon* declare, that this Confeſſion and Declaration before writen, is my owne Confeſſion; given with my heart, and ſubſcribed with my hand, before the witneſſes underwritten, underſcribing with me at my requeſt and deſire at S^t. *Andrewes* the 10. day of *June* 1591.

M. PATRICK ADAMSON.

David Carnegie of *Colluthie* witneſſe.
William Scott of *Abbotſhall* witneſſe
Alexander Bruce of *Earleſhall* witneſſe.
Bortbick of *Gordounſhall* witnes.
William Ruſſell.
William Lermouth.
Thomas King.
M^r. *Robert Wilkie*.
M^r. *Andro Moncreif*.
M^r. *David Black*.
M^r. *Andro Hunter*, Scribe of the Provinciall Aſſembly.

The

Two pious and Propheticall LETTERS of Master *Jo. Welch*, which he wrote out of his Prison, after the sentence of Death was pronounced against him; onely for his testimony against *Erastianisme* and *Prelacy*.

The first to the Lady Flemming [a].

[a] This was Dame *Lilias Graham* Countesse of *Wigton* one of the most gracious soules of that Age.

The consolation of the holy Ghost be multiplyed upon you in Christ.

OFten and many times, Christian and Elect Lady, have I desired the opportunity to be comforted and refreshed with that consolation wherewith it hath pleased God of his free grace and mercy to fill and furnish you.

Your rememberance is very sweet and comfortable to my soule, since the first time I knew you in Christ, I have ever been mindfull of you to the Lord; and now not being able to refraine any longer, I could not omit this occasion; not knowing how long it may please the Lord to continue my being in this Tabernacle, or give me further occasion of writing to any.

Although I have not great matter at this time; yet in the remembrance of your labour of Love, Hope and Patience, I must needs salute your Ladisship; knowing assuredly ye are the chosen of God, set apart before ever the world was, to that glorious and eternall inheritance. Being thus comforted in your Faith and Hope, I am fully assured, though we never have the occasion of meeting here, yet we shall reigne together in the world to come.

My desire to remaine here is not great, knowing that so long as I am in this house of clay, I am *absent from God; and if it were dissolved, I looke for a building not made with hands, eternall in the heavens. In this I groane, desiring to be cloathed upon with my house which is in heaven; if so be that being cloathed, I shall not* 2 Cor. 5.

be

found naked; for I that am within this tabernacle, doe oft-times groane and ſigh within my ſelfe, being often-times burdened, not that I would be uncloathed, but cloathed upon that mortalitie might be ſwallowed up of life. I long to eat of the fruit of that tree,
Revel. 22. *which is planted in the midſt of the Paradiſe of God*; and to drinke of the pure river, cleere as Criſtall, that runs through the
Job 19. 25. ſtreet of the new Jeruſalem, *I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he ſhall ſtand at the laſt day upon the earth; and that though after my skinne wormes deſtroy my body, yet in my fleſh ſhall I ſee God, whom I ſhall ſee for my ſelfe, and not another for me*: and my eyes ſhall behold him, *though my reines be conſumed within me.* I
Revel. 6. 9. long to be refreſhed with *the ſoules of them that are under the Altar, who were ſlaine for the word of God, and the teſtimony they held.* And to have theſe long white robes given me, that I may
Revel. 7. 14. walke in white rayment with thoſe glorious Saints *who have waſhed their garments, and have made them white in the blood of the Lambe.*

Why ſhould I thinke it a ſtrange thing to be removed from this place, to that wherein is my hope, my joy, my crowne, my eldeſt Brother, my head, my Father, my comforter, and all the glorified Saints; and where the Song of *Moſes* and the Lambe are ſung joyfully; where we ſhall not be compelled to ſit by the rivers of *Babylon*, nor to hang up our Harpes on Willow-trees, but ſhall take them and
Revel. 5. 13. ſing the new *Hallelujah, bleſſing, honour, glory, and power, to him that ſits upon the throne, and to the Lambe for ever and ever.* What is there under this old vault of the heavens, and in this old worne earth, which is under the bondage of corruption groaning and travailing in paine, and as it were ſtill ſhooting out the head, looking, waiting, and longing for the redemption of the ſonnes of God; what is there,
2 Pet. 3. 13. I ſay, that ſhould make me remaine here? I expect *that new heaven, and that new earth, where righteouſneſſe dwelleth*, wherein I ſhall reſt for ever more. I looke to get entrie into the new *Jeruſalem*; at one of thoſe twelve Gates, whereupon are written the names of the twelve Tribes of the children of Iſrael; I know Chriſt Jeſus hath prepared them for me.

Why

may I not then with boldneſſe, in his blood, ſtep in into that glory, where my head and Lord hath gone before me? Jeſus Chriſt is the doore and the Porter, Who then ſhall hold me out? will he let them periſh for whom he hath dyed? will he let that poore Sheepe be pluckt out of his hand, for whom he hath laid downe his owne life? Who ſhall condemne the man whom God hath juſtified? who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of the man for whom Chriſt hath dyed, or rather riſen againe? I know I have grievouſly tranſgreſſed, *but where ſinne aboundeth, grace will ſuperabound.* I know my ſinnes are red as ſcarlet and crimſon, yet the red blood of Chriſt my Lord, can make them as white as Snow or Wooll. *Whom have I in heaven but him, or whom deſire I in earth beſides him?* O thou the faireſt among the children of men; the light of the Gentiles; the glory of the Jewes; the life of the dead; the joy of Angels and Saints; my ſoule panteth to be with thee [b]. I will put my ſpirit into thy hands, and thou wilt not put it out of thy preſence: I will come unto thee, for thou caſts none away that comes unto thee. O thou the onely delight of Mankinde, thou camſt to ſeeke and to ſave that which was loſt; thou ſeeking me haſt found me; and now being found by thee, I hope, O Lord, thou wilt not let me periſh. I deſire to be with thee, and doe long for the fruition of thy bleſſed preſence, and joy of thy countenance. Thou the onely good Shepheard *art full of grace and truth*; therefore I truſt thou wilt not thruſt me out of the doore of thy grace. *The Law was given by Moſes, but grace and truth by thee:* Who ſhall ſeparate me from thy love? *ſhall tribulation or diſtreſſe, or perſecution, or famine, or nakedneſſe, or perill, or ſword? Nay, in all theſe things I am more then conqueror, through thy Majeſty that hath loved me; for I am perſwaded, that neither death nor life, nor principalities, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor any other creature is able to ſeparate me from the love of thy Majeſty, which is in Chriſt Jeſus my Lord.* I refuſe not to dye with thee, that I may live with thee; I refuſe not to ſuffer with thee, that I may rejoyce with thee. Shall not all things be pleaſant to me

Rom. 9. 20.

Pſal. 73. 26.

John 1. 14.

John 1. 17.

Rom. 8. 35.

[b] Maſter *Welſh* in his greateſt proſperity, ſpent every day more time in prayer and ſoliloquies with God, then men in this prophane Age can beleeve.

which

c He points at the ſentence for he and the reſt of the Miniſters were all condemned to be hanged as Traitors.

which may be my laſt ſleepe c, by which or upon which I may come unto thee? When ſhall I be ſatiate with thy face? when ſhall I be drunke with thy pleaſures? Come Lord Jeſus and tarry not: *the ſpirit ſayes come; the Bride ſayes come; even ſo Lord Jeſus come quickly*, and tarry not. Why ſhould the multitude of my iniquities, or the greatneſſe of them affright me? Why ſhould I faint in this my deſire to be with thee? The greater ſinner I have beene, the greater glory will thy grace be to me unto all eternity. Oh unſpeakable joy, endleſſe, infinite, and bottomeleſſe compaſſion! O Ocean of never fading pleaſure! O love of loves! O *the breadth and height, and depth, and length of that love of thine that paſſeth knowledge*. The love of *Jonathan* was great indeed unto *David*, it paſſeth the love of women. O uncreated love! beginning without beginning, and ending without end: thou art my glory, my joy and my gaine, and my crowne; thou haſt ſet me *under thy ſhadow, with great delight, and thy fruit is ſweet unto my taſte; thou haſt brought me to thy banquetting-houſe*, and placed me in thy Orchard; *ſtay me with thy flagons, and comfort me with thy Apples, for I am ſicke*, and my ſoule is wounded with thy love. *Behold, thou art faire, my love; behold, thou art faire; thou haſt Doves eyes; behold, thou art faire my beloved, yea pleaſant; alſo our bed is greene, the beames of our houſe are Cedars, and our rafters are of Firre. How faire and how pleaſant art thou, O love for delights.* My heart is raviſhed with thee; oh, when ſhall I ſee thy face? How long wilt thou delay to be to me *as a Roe, or a young Hart leaping upon the Mountaines, and ſkipping upon the hils; as a bundle of Myrrhe be thou to me; and lye all night betwixt my breaſts: becauſe of the ſavour of thy good oyntments: thy name is as oyntment powred forth*; therefore deſire I to goe out of the Deſert, and come to the place where thou ſitſt at thy repoſe, and *where thou makeſt thy flockes to reſt at noon*. When ſhall I be filled with thy love; ſurely if a man knew how precious it were, he would count all things droſſe and dung to gaine it: truly I would long for that Scaffold, or that Axe, or that Cord, that might be to me that laſt ſtep of this my wearieſome journey, to goe to thee my Lord. Thou who

Rev. 22. 17. 20.

Ephſ. 3. 18.

Cant. 1. 3.

Cant. 2. 4, 5.

Cant. 2. 15.

Cant. 7. 6.

Cant. 2. 8, 9.

Cant. 1. 13.

Cant. 1. 3.

Cant. 1. 7.

who knowes the meaning of the ſpirit, give anſwer to the ſpeaking, ſighing and groaning of the ſpirit; thou who haſt enflamed my heart to ſpeak to thee in this ſilent, yet love-language of ardent and fervent deſires; ſpeak againe unto my heart, and anſwer my deſires, which thou haſt made me ſpeak to thee; *O Death where is thy ſting, O Grave where is thy victory! the ſting of Death is ſinne, the ſtrength of ſin is the Law; but thanks be to God which giveth me Victory through Jeſus Chriſt.* 1 Cor. 15. 55.

What can be troubleſome to me, ſince my Lord looks upon me with ſo loving and amiable a countenance, and how greatly doe I long for theſe embracements of my Lord; *O that he would kiſſe me with the kiſſes of his mouth, for his love is better then wine:* O that my ſoule were the throne wherein he might dwell eternally! O that my heart were the Temple wherein he might be magnified and dwell for ever; all glory be unto my God, Angels and Saints praiſe ye him; O thou earth, ye hils and mountaines be glad, ye ſhall not be wearied any more with the burthen of corruption, whereunto ye have been ſubject through the wickedneſſe of mankind: lift up your hearts and be glad, for a fire ſhall make you cleane from all your corruption and vanity, wherewith for the ſpace of many yeers, you have been infected; let all the Saints rejoice, for the day of the marriage with the Bridegroom (even the Lambe of God) is at hand, and her faire white robes ſhall be given her, ſhe ſhall be arrayed with the golden veſture and the needle-work of his manifold graces that ſhall be put upon her; he who is life ſhall quickly appeare, and ſhe ſhall quickly appeare with him, in the glory and happineſſe of a conſummate Marriage. Cant. 1. 2.

But I muſt remember my ſelfe, I know I have been greatly ſtrengthned and ſuſtained by your prayers (honourable Lady, and dearly beloved in our Lord Jeſus) continue I pray you, as ye have begun, in wreſtling with the Lord for me, that Chriſt may be magnified in my mortall body whether living or dead, that my ſoule may be lifted up to thoſe third heavens, that I may taſte of thoſe joyes that are at the right hand of my heavenly Father, and that with gladneſſe I may

let my ſpirit goe thither where my body ſhall ſhortly follow: Who am I, that he ſhould firſt have called me, and then conſtitute me a Miniſter of glad tidings of the Goſpell of ſalvation, theſe ſixteen yeers already, and now laſt of all, to be a ſufferer for his cauſe and Kingdome.

The matter of this gracious mans ſuffering was the very controverſie now in hand betwixt us and the Eraſtian Stateſmen.

To witneſſe that good confeſſion, that Jeſus Chriſt is the King of Saints, and that his Church is a moſt free Kingdome; yea, as free as any Kingdome under heaven, not onely to convocate, hold and keep her meetings, Conventions and Aſſemblies, but alſo to judge of all her affaires in all her meetings and conventions amongſt her members and Subjects [d].

Theſe two points, firſt, that Chriſt is the head of his Church; ſecondly, that ſhe is free in her government from all other juriſdiction except Chriſts: Theſe two points, I ſay, are the ſpeciall cauſe of our impriſonmēt, being now convict as traitors for their maintainance; we have been waiting with joyfulneſſe to give the laſt teſtimony of our blood in confirmation thereof; if it would pleaſe our God to be ſo favourable as to honour us with that dignity: yea, I doe affirme that theſe two points above written, and all other things which belong to Chriſts Crowne, Scepter and Kingdome, are not ſubject, nor cannot be to any other authority but to his owne altogether, ſo that I would be moſt glad to be offered up upon the ſacrifice of ſo glorious a truth.

But alas, I feare that my ſinnes, and the abuſe of ſo glorious things as I have found, deprive me of ſo faire a Crowne; yet my Lord doth know, if he would call me to, and ſtrengthen me in it, it would be the moſt glorious day and gladdeſt houre I ever ſaw in this life; but I am in his hand to doe with me whatſoever ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty. It may ſuffice me that I have had ſo long a time in the knowledge of the Goſpell, and that I have ſeen the things I have ſeen, and heard the things I have heard, and that through Gods grace I have been ſo long a witneſſe of thoſe glorious and good newes in my weak miniſtery, and that my witneſſing hath not been altogether without fruit and bleſſing, ſo that I hope

hope at that great day I ſhall have him to be my Crown, my glory, my joy and my reward, and therefore boldly I ſay with *Simeon*, *Lord now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace*, not in a peaceable dying, but by rendring up to him my ſpirit in ſtamping of this his verity, and in ſealing the ſame with my blood; *I have fought a good fight, and have finiſhed my courſe, I have kept the faith, henceforth is laid up for me a Crowne of righteouſneſſe, which the Lord the righteous Judge ſhall give me at that day, and not to me onely, but to all them alſo that love his comming.* 2 Tim. 4. 7.

Now is the propheſie at hand to be fulfilled, which theſe two worthy ſervants of the Lord, Maſter *George Wiſhart* and Maſter *John Knox*, my Father in Law ſpake; which was, That Chriſt ſhould be crucified in this Kingdome againe, but glorious ſhould his reſurrection be, [e] as Maſter *Knox* with his owne hand upon the Margin of *Calvins* Harmony upon the Paſſion, did write, which is yet extant.

But alas, for the Kingdome, my teſtimony now doth not differ from that of many before this time, who ſaid, That the Judgement of *Scotland* ſhould be blood, this Kingdome ſhall be drowned in blood, a furbiſhed and glittering ſword is already drawne out of the ſcabbard, which ſhall not returne untill it be made drunke with the blood of the men within this Land; [f] firſt, the heavy inteſtine ſword, and then the ſword of the ſtrangers.

O dolefull *Scotland*, well were he that were removed far from thee, that his eyes

[e] *This ſtrange Propheſie of* Knox *and* Wiſhart *is here explicat and mervailouſly enlarged by this divine man; the firſt part thereof, whereupon alone he here inſiſts, has been performed lately in every tittle before our eyes; the ſecond part of Chriſts glorious reſurrection, and our glorious deliverance, we expect ſhall be as punctually performed in the Lords good time.*

[f] *More blood ſhed by the ſword in* Scotland *the other yeere, then for many Generations before.*

[g] *This indeed was the Lords method with us, the blood ſhed in our firſt troubles at the Bridge of* Die, *and divers parts of the North, from*

eyes might not ſee nor his eares heare all theſe evils that are to come upon thee; [h] neither the ſtrong man by his ſtrength, nor the rich man by his riches, nor the Noble man by his blood, ſhall be delivered from the judgements; *there is a great ſacrifice to be made in Boſrah*; in thee O *Scotland*, of the blood of all ſorts in the Land; [i] *Ephraim ſhall conſume Manaſſeh, and Manaſſeh Ephraim*: Brother againſt brother, and every man in the judgement of the Lord ſhall be armed to thruſt his ſword in the ſide of his neighbour; [k] and all for the contempt of the moſt glorious Goſpell, and that blood which was offered to thee O *Scotland* in ſo plentifull a manner, that the like thereof hath not been offered to any Nation.

Iſaiah 9. 21.

the Caſtles of Edinborough *and* Dunbartan *and in the South, was onely by the inteſtine ſword, but the great bloodſhed in our preſent troubles was for the moſt part by the ſword of ſtrangers, the barbarous Iriſh Rebels having their Commiſſion from* Ireland.

[h] *Never ſo great a flight in* Scotland *as the other yeer, the moſt conſiderable perſons fled away to* England *or* Ireland *or ſome corners and ſtrong holds of the Land for the ſafety of their lives.*

[i] Vide [f].

[k] *Thus indeed it was among us, under the ſtandard of the enemy, many of our Brethren, Kinſmen and Neighbours did fight, and by their hands much of our blood was ſpilt.*

Therefore thy judgement ſhall be the greater, but the Sanctuary muſt be begun at, and the meaſure is not yet fulfilled, till the blood of the Saints be ſhed; then the cryes will be great, and will not ſtay, till they bring the Lord downe from Heaven his Throne, to ſee if the ſinnes of *Scotland* be according to the cry thereof, neither ſhall there be any Subject in the Land, from the greateſt to the meaneſt, guiltleſſe. The guilt of our blood ſhall not onely lie upon the Prince, but alſo upon our own Brethren, Biſhops, Counſellours and Commiſſioners; it is they, even they that have ſtirred our Prince againſt us, we muſt therefore lay the blame and burden of our blood upon them eſpecially, however

ever the reſt above written be alſo partakers of their ſins with them.

And as to the reſt of our Brethen, who either by ſilence approve, or by crying Peace Peace, ſtrengthen the arme of the wicked, that they cannot returne; in the meane time, make the hearts of the righteous ſad, they ſhall all in like manner be guilty of our blood, and of high treaſon againſt the King of Kings, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt his Crowne and Kingdome.

Next unto them all Counſellours, Chancellour, Preſident, Comptroller, Advocate, and next unto them, all that firſt or laſt ſate in Counſell, and did not beare plaine teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt and his Kingdome, for which we doe ſuffer: and next unto them, all theſe who ſhould have been preſent and ſupplied, who ſhould at ſuch times have come and made open teſtimony of Chriſt faithfully, although it had been contrary to plaine Law and hazard of their lives; when the poor *Jewes* were in ſuch danger, that nothing was expected but utter deſtruction, Queen *Eſter* after three days faſting, concluded thus with her ſelfe; *I will* (ſaid ſhe) *goe in to the King (though it be not according to Law) and if I periſh, I periſh:* with this reſolution, ſuch as are borne Counſellours ſhould have ſaid, Chriſts Kingdome is now in my hand, and I am bound alſo and ſworne by a ſpeciall Covenant, *to maintaine the Doctrine and Diſcipline thereof according to my vocation and power all the dayes of my life, under all the paines contained in the Book of God, and danger both of body and ſoule in the day of Gods fearfull judgement*; and therefore though I ſhould periſh in the cauſe, yet will I ſpeak for it, and to my power defend it according to my vocation. Finally, all thoſe that counſels, commands, conſents and allowes, are guilty in the ſight of God: but the mourners for theſe evils, and the faithfull of the Land, and they who are unfainedly grieved in heart for all the abominations; theſe are marked as not being guilty, *Ezek. 9.* Eſter 5.16.

I know not whether I ſhall ever have occaſion to write againe, and therefore by this Leteer as my larter will and teſtament I give teſtimony and warning and knowledge of

thoſe things to all men according to the Lords direction to the Prophet, *Son of man I have made &c.* therefore I give warning to all men hereby, that no mans blood be required at my hand. Thus deſiring the help of your prayers, with my humble commendations and ſervice in Chriſt to my Lord your Husband, and to all the Saints there; the Meſſenger of peace be with you all for evermore, *Amen.*

Ezek. 33. 7.

From *Blackneſſe*
Jan. 16. 1606.

Yours to my full power,
for the time Chriſts Priſoner,
JOHN WELSCH.

This ſecond Letter was written before the firſt to Sir *William Levinſtone* of *Kilſyth*, one of the Lords of the Colledge of Iuſtice.

RIght honorable Sir; after my hearty ſalutations: Your love and care towards us uttered many wayes hath certainly comforted me; and having no other thing to requite, as I am able, I ſhall deſire the Lord who is mighty, and hath taken upon him ſo to doe, to meet you and yours with conſolations in his good time.

As for the matter it ſelfe, the bearer will ſhew you, that what is required is ſuch a thing as in the ſight of our Lord we may not doe, without both the hazard of our conſciences, and liberty of Chriſts Kingdome, which ſhould be deerer to us then any thing elſe; What a ſlavery were it for us to binde our conſciences in the ſervice of our God in the meaneſt point of our callings, to the will of man or Angels. And we are fully reſolved, that which we did, was acceptable ſervice to our God, who hath put it up as ſervice done to him, and has allowed and ſealed it to us by many tokens; ſo that it were more then high impiety and apoſtacy to teſtifie the ruine or undoing of any thing which our God hath ordained to be done, and has accepted of us being done [a].

[a] *This Letter is an Anſwer of Maſter* Welſh *to* Kilſyth; *it ſeemes* Spotſwood *then Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow, *had moved* Kilſyth *to*

We

tempt the prisoners after their condemnation, to acknowledge a fault, and crave pardon for their actions at Aberdeen, *upon assurance of libertie: this overture Master* Welsh *rejects as unlawfull, and withall denounces the judgement of God against* Spotswood, *the chiefe instrument of the gracious Ministers oppression, in a mervailous and altogether Prophetical manner.*

Wee, Sir (if the Lord will) are yet ready to doe more in our callings, and to suffer more for the same, if so be it wil please our God to call us to it, and strengthen us in it; for in our selves we dare promise nothing, but in our God all things.

As for that instrument *Spotswood*, we are sure the Lord will never blesse that man, but a malediction lyes upon him, and shall accompany all his doings; and it may be Sir, your eyes shall see as great confusion covering him ere he goe to the grave, as did his predecessours. Now surely Sir, I am farre from bitternesse; but here I denounce the wrath of an everlasting God against him, which assuredly shall fall, except it be prevented; Sir, Dagon shall not stand before the Arke of the Lord, and those names of blasphemy that he weares of Lord Bishop and Archbishop will have a fearfull end [b]. Not one beck is to be given to *Haman*; suppose he were as great a Courtier as ever he was; suppose the Decree were given out, and sealed with the Kings Ring, Deliverance will come to us elsewhere, and not by him that hath been so sore an instrument, not against our persons (that were nothing, and I protest to you Sir in the sight of my God, I forgive him all the evill that ever he hath done, or can doe to me) but unto Christs poore Kirk, in stamping underfoot so glorious a Kingdome and beauty as was once in this Land: he has helped to cut *Sampsons* haire, and to expose him to mocks; but the Lord will not be mocked; he shall!

[a] This Prophesie of the abolishing of Episcopacy is now accomplished in our eyes.

[c] *Not a word of this is fallen to the ground*; Spotswood *in the top of all his honours, when he had come up to be Archbishop of St.* Andrewes *and Chancellour of the Kingdome, he was cast out of* Scotland, *and dyed a poore miserable man at* London, *having not a sixpence of his own to buy Bread, or to put him in his grave, but*

as it was begged at Court; the evident hand of God lighted on his posterity; his Lands of Darsie *(all the conquesse he was able to make to his eldest Son Sir* Jo. Spotswood*) is ready to be sold, and that branch of his posterity to goe a begging: his second Son Sir* Robert Spotswood *President of the Colledge of Justice, for his treason against* Scotland, *did dye miserably on a scaffold at St.* Andrews, *an obdured impenitent man: his brother the Bishop of* Clogher *was cast out of his great estates in* Ireland, *and here in extreame old age was put, as he told us, to teach children for his Bread; and being unfit for that imployment, he was long a suitor here at* London *for the meanest place in the Ministry, that he might be kept from starving, but could not obtaine it.*

[d] *These things were Propheſied in the yeer* 1605. *forty yeers before their full performance, contrary to al worldly appearance; for then and many yeeres after Master* Welsh *his death it was more improbable that the Episcopall thrones in the King of Britains Dominions could ever have been overthrown by any humane force, then that the See of the Pope at Rome, and the Seats of all the Antichristian Prelates in* Italy, France *and* Spain, *or any where this day in the Earth, should be overturned in despight of all their Defenders.*

shall be cast away as out of a sling-stone; his name shall rot, and a malediction shall fall upon his posterity after he is gone [c].

Let this Letter Sir, be a Monument of it, that it was told before, that whē it shall come to passe, it may be seene there was warning given him, and therfore Sir, seeing I have not the accesse my selfe, if it would please God to move you, I wish you did deliver this hard Message unto him, not as from me I assure you, but as from the Lord; that except he repent, he shall be made a fearfull spectacle of Gods wrath in this Land [d]

I have kept the matter onely to my selfe, as our Brother will shew you: Now the grace of God be multiplyed upon you:

Yours, from my heart to be commanded in the Lord.

JOHN WELSH.

From *Blackneſſe*,
Oct. 9. 1605.